NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE

NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE
1795–1821

BY

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"DUMOURIEZ AND THE DEFENCE OF ENGLAND AGAINST NAPOLEON"
"NELSON'S HARDY: HIS LIFE, LETTERS, AND FRIENDS," ETC. ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON

PICTORIAL SATIRE AS A FACTOR IN NAPOLEONIC HISTORY

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WITH NEARLY 250 ILLUSTRATIONS, 24 IN COLOUR

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. II

LONDON: JOHN LANE, THE BODLEY HEAD
NEW YORK: JOHN LANE COMPANY. MCMXI

M 831566

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v. 2.

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Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh

CONTENTS

VOL. II

CHAPTER XVIII

PAGE

Caricatures relating to the Last Years of Napoleon's Life—His Voyages on Board the "Bellerophon" and the "Northumberland," and his Detention in St. Helena (July 1815 to May 1821) 1

CHAPTER XIX

Napoleon in French Caricature, Summer of 1795 to May 4, 1814 25

CHAPTER XX

Napoleon in French Caricature (May 5, 1814, to May 5, 1821) 57

CHAPTER XXI

Napoleon in French Caricature—Satirical Prints relating to Père La Violette (Father La Violette)—L'Ordre des Girouettes (The Order of the Weathercocks), and L'Ordre des Éteignoirs (The Order of the Extinguishers) 88

CHAPTER XXII

Napoleon in German Caricature (1800–21) 100

CHAPTER XXIII

Napoleon in Italian and Spanish Caricatures . . . 142

CHAPTER XXIV

PAGE

Napoleon in Russian Caricature (1812–15) 170

CHAPTER XXV

Napoleon in the Caricatures of Holland (1800–1816) . 184

CHAPTER XXVI

Napoleon in the Caricatures of Switzerland and Scandinavia 201

CHAPTER XXVII

The "Odium Theologicum" in Napoleonic Caricature—Bonaparte as the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet—Prophetic and Hieroglyphic Prints issued in England between 1798 and 1815 218

CHAPTER XXVIII

The English Heraldic Caricatures of Napoleon (1804–1815) 232

CHAPTER XXIX

A Cosmopolitan Caricature, the "Triumph of the Year 1813," by J. M. Voltz—A German Caricature of January 1814, reproduced and adapted in Seven Countries . 242

CHAPTER XXX

Napoleonic Caricatures in Pottery and Porcelain . . 258

CHAPTER XXXI

The Aftermath of Napoleon in Caricature (1821–1910) . 268

APPENDICES

PAGE

Alphabetical List of English Napoleonic Caricatures . 291

English Caricatures according to Artists . . . 350

English Caricatures according to Publishers . . . 353

Alphabetical List of French Caricatures . . . 357

Alphabetical List of German Caricatures . . . 383

Alphabetical List of Italian and Spanish Caricatures . 396

A.—Italian Caricatures 397

B.—Spanish Caricatures 402

Alphabetical List of Russian Caricatures . . . 405

Alphabetical List of Dutch Caricatures . . . 410

Alphabetical List of Swiss and Scandinavian Caricatures 418

A.—Swiss Caricatures 418

B.—Swedish Caricatures 420

INDEX 421

ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL II.

COLOURED PLATES

Tyrant Unmasked, 1814 . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

erers by Martinet's Print Shop, at the Rue Du Coq, in Paris —1814 28

Consular Trio—Cambacérès, Bonaparte, Lebrun . . . 34

Universal Toast 36

th of Pitt 40

na giving Napoleon a Lesson in Deportment and Imperial Dignity 45

Elba Robinson Crusoe 56

Ne Plus Ultra of Cannibalism 72

ron's Wherry. After Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" . 82

Universal Monarch 112

edical Consultation. Russian caricature by Ivan Terebenef . 170

BLACK AND WHITE PLATES

are Acquisition to the Royal Menagerie. By T. Rowlandson, July 28, 1815 5

ey Crossing the Line. By Marks, Autumn of 1815 . . . 7

ey's Meditations on the Island of St. Helena. The Devil Addressing the Sun. By George Cruikshank, August, 1815 . 10

Sorrows of Boney, or Meditations in the Island of St. Helena. Published by McCleary, of Dublin in the Autumn of 1815 . 12

ack View of Napoleon on Board the *Northumberland*. By Commissary Denzil Ibbetson 16

Napoleon Ladder. Published by Cozens, 1821 . . . 19

e Five Heads." Napoleon and his Fellow-Exiles of 1815. By Commissary Denzil Ibbetson. Published by Hassell, May 1, 1817 21

FACING PA

Original Sketch of Napoleon on Board the *Northumberland*. By Commissary Denzil Ibbetson
The Head and the Brain. French caricature of George III. and Pitt
"The Little Coblenz," 1795
The People's Fillip, 1796
"You've got to Dance," 1797
Allegory on the Deliverance of England by Napoleon, 1797–1798
The Reckoning, 1798
The Horoscope of England, 1801
George III's Advice, 1804
The Magic Lantern, 1805
Pitt's Awakening, 1805
Pitt, Pitiable and Spited, 1806
A Russian Game, 1806
A Game of All Fours, 1806
The Olive Branch, 1813
The Feast of the Innocents, 1813
The Jay Stripped of its Borrowed Plumes, 1814
The Carnival of 1814
From Top to Bottom, April, 1814
The Shepherd, 1814
The Shuttlecock, April, 1814
Serpens Afer, April, 1814
Grasp All, Lose All, 1814
The Arrival at Elba, 1814
Papa's Necktie, 1814
The Imperial Stride, March, 1815
A Game of Bouillotte, April, 1815
The Twelfth Cake, March, 1815
A Glorious Reign of Nineteen Years, April, 1815
The Swing-Boat, April, 1815
The Toasts, Spring of 1815
An Allegorical Subject, Spring, 1815
The Rag Picker, June, 1815
The Last Effort, June, 1815
Sacrifice of Napoleon, June, 1815
This Comes of having a Heart, July, 1815
The Big Drum of Europe, July, 1815
The Imperial Skipper, July, 1815
A Game of Rings, July, 1815
Shaving Day, July, 1815
The New Titan, July, 1815

FACING PAGE

Additional Act, July, 1815 76
Chained Tiger, July, 1815 79
d Him Fast, July, 1815 79
Descent, August, 1815 81
Prometheus of St. Helena, 1815 81
Rats won't have Him, 1816 82
Cheese of St. Helena, 1816 85
t of the Hermit, 1816 87
Spring and the Return of the Violet, April, 1815 . . . 90
Peddigree of Corporal Violet. By George Cruikshank, June 9, 1815 92
Bunch of Violets, Autumn of 1815 94
Genius of France Overthrowing the Great Imperial Extinguisher, July, 1815 98
ıntary Retreat of the Great French Army 101
ring out the World 103
Battle of Leipzig 106
Lucky Hunter 108
ımencement of the Finale 110
e Berlin 115
Halle Gate 115
Courier of the Rhine 117
ving Bubbles 119
Great Eagle made to Moult 122
-Ladder of Napoleon's Rise and Fall 124
Firebrand 126
New Elba 129
Fearful Robber's Nest 135
New Robinson Crusoe 138
oleon's Dream 139
r's Entreaty, 1799 144
Usurper's Meal, 1799 147
Impious Lodge, 1799 149
Waxwork Bonaparte, 1814 151
of Napoleon, May, 1814 154
ursor of Thieves 156
King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver, 1803 158
Corsican Tiger at Bay. By T. Rowlandson, July 8, 1808 . 162
aparte Blind through Conceit, 1808 164
ney of the Exalted Traveller from Warsaw to Paris . . 173
Dancing Lesson 175
oleon after the Burning of Moscow 179
rantine for Napoleon on his Return from Russia . . . 181

FACING PAG

The Pig Messenger 18
The Cossack's Spear, 1813 18
The Rat is in the Trap 19
Napoleon Riding a Cock to Elba, 1814 19
The Caricature Vendor 19
The General Attack 19
The Flight of Napoleon 19
Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8 20
Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8 20
Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8 20
Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8 20
Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8 21
The Political See-Saw. By David Hess, 1802 21
The Ass's Kick. French caricature in which the position of Napoleon at St. Helena is compared to that of St. John . . 22
Corsican Usurper's New Imperial French Arms. Heraldic caricature by C. Ansell, December 20, 1804 23
Head of Napoleon. Engraved by Lehmann after portrait by H. A. Dähling (1807) 24
J. M. Voltz's famous German caricature, "Triumph of the Year 1813—to the Germans for the New Year" 24
Napoleon, the Corsican Phœnix. Curious English adaptation of the German corpse-head of Napoleon, published by Fairburn, May, 1815 24
Swedish variation of Voltz's "Triumph of the Year 1813" . 24
Napoleon. Spanish variation of Voltz's "Triumph of the Year 1813" 25
No. I.—Staffordshire Pottery in the Brighton Museum, Ornamented with Napoleonic Caricatures published between 1800 and 1804—the Period of the threatened Invasion of England 25
Gallon Jug covered with Caricatures relating to the Burning of Moscow and the Retreat through Russia (1812). In the possession of the writer 26
No. II.—Staffordshire Pottery in the Brighton Museum, Ornamented with Napoleonic Caricatures relating to the Russian Campaign, 1812–1813 26
"The Triumph of the Year 1813." A plaque of white glazed earthenware in the Brighton Museum. After the German caricature by Voltz 26
No. III.—Staffordshire Pottery in the Brighton Museum, Ornamented with Caricatures relating to the Defeat of Napoleon in 1814 and 1815 27
Bonaparte-le-Corse. A late Caricature-portrait of Napoleon . 27

NAPOLEON
IN CARICATURE

CHAPTER XVIII

CARICATURES RELATING TO THE LAST YEARS OF NAPOLEON'S LIFE; HIS VOYAGES ON BOARD THE *BELLEROPHON* AND THE *NORTHUMBERLAND*, AND HIS DETENTION IN ST. HELENA (JULY 1815 TO MAY 1821)

"The Desolator Desolate,
The Victor overthrown!
The arbiter of others' fate
A suppliant for his own!
Is it some yet imperial hope
That with such change can calmly cope?
Or dread of death alone?
To die a prince—or live a slave—
Thy choice is most ignobly brave."
—BYRON.

"Il tomba roi; puis, dans sa route
Il voulut, fantôme ennemi
Se relever, afin sans doute
De ne plus tomber à demi.
Alors, loin de sa tyrannie,
Pour qu'une effrayante harmonie
Frappât l'orgueil anéanti,
On jeta ce captif suprème
Sur un rocher, débris lui-même
De quelque ancien monde englouti."
—VICTOR HUGO.

IT is difficult to understand how intelligence of what had happened at the Ile d'Aix on July 15 could have reached London in time to prepare the caricature "Complements (*sic*) and Congees Little Boney's Surrender to the Tars of Old England,"

which Johnston of Cheapside published ten days later July 25. We here see Napoleon, attended by his suite who cry effusively "Vive les Anglais!" boarding the *Bellerophon*, on the deck of which he is received by Captain Maitland. He says: "Oh, Mr. Bull, I am so happy to see you. I always had a great regard for the British sailors. They are such noble fellows, so brave, so generous! You see I'm in a great deal of trouble, but I hope you will take pity on me and my suite, namely my Barber, my Cook, and my Washerwoman, together with a few of my *brave* generals, who ran away with me from the Battle of Waterloo, and I do assure you we all feel great *pleasure* to the good old English. I should feel extremely obliged if you would take us to America, but if you will not, I beg you will take us to England, for I hate those bears and cursed Cossacks. And as for the French nation now, why, they may be d—d. Old England for ever, I say!" The Captain replies: "Indeed, Mr. Boney, I am greatly obliged to you for your compliments, and I assure you we are as happy to receive you as you are to surrender. I'm afraid they will not take that care of you in America that they would in England. Therefore I shall conduct you to the latter place as quick as possible." Three sailors in the background regard the exile with no friendly eye. The first says: "I say, Jack, do you think they will clap him in Exeter Change amongst wild beasts?" His messmate replies: "No! I suppose as how he will be put in the monkeys' den in the Tower, or else they will send him about with a dancing bear." The third says: "My eyes, what a sneaking hound he is."

Jack Tar must have been something of a prophet

r three days later (July 18) Ackermann published owlandson's "A Rare Acquisition to the Royal Mena-rie.[1] A Present from Waterloo by Marshals Wellington d Blücher." The ideas of the honest sailors as to apoleon's probable fate seemed in a fair way to be alised. In a cage drawn by two asses is Napoleon ated on a swing, with fool's-cap and ass's ears; the rench eagle lies dead on the top of the cage. The ader of the cavalcade cries through a horn: "Just ught, a ferocious animal—never exhibited before in is country—commonly called the Corsican Tiger or an-destroyer, to be seen for a short time for twopence piece." A bull-dog tries in vain to get at the captive, hile Talleyrand prods at him through the bars. Death so peers at him. An English sailor, with the words *llerophon* on his hat-band, acts as showman, saying: Once more, my dear Meg of Wapping, we have got n under the hatches, and, shiver my timbers, the only ay to secure him is to send him to dock-head."[2] A rocious hag holding out a pair of scissors threatens apoleon with mutilation. He whimpers, "Mort de ma e, dat be one Cossack in petticoats! She will soon in and bone me."

Rowlandson's "Boney's Trial, Sentence, and Dying eech, or Europe Revenged," came out on the same y (Ackermann). Napoleon is depicted in the dock. e European Powers occupy the bench, while Blücher full-bottomed wig pronounces sentence on the prisoner, ying: "You, Nap Bonaparte, being found guilty of

[1] See also "Pidcock's Grand Menagerie" (1803), "Cruce Dignus" 14), "The Elbaronian Emperor" (1814), and others.

[2] The point on the Thames at which the execution of pirates took place.

all these crimes, it is fell (*sic*) to my lot to pronounce sentence of death on you. You are to be hung by the neck for one hour till you are *Dead, Dead, Dead.* And your Body to be chained to a mill-stone and sunk in the sea at Torbay." Napoleon in the dock, prompted by the Devil, who stands behind him, replies: "Oh, cruel Blücher! Oh, cruel Wellington! It is you that have brought me to this End! Oh! magnanimous Emperors, Kings, and Princes, intercede for me and spare my life, and give me time to atone for all my sins. My son Napoleon the Second will reward you for mercy shown me." On a screen behind the usher and counsel, in the well of the Court, is inscribed the following indictment: "NAPOLEON BONEPARTE.—The first and last by the Wrath of Heaven, Ex-Emperor of the Jacobins and Head-Runner of Runaways, stands indicted: I. For the Murder of Captain Wright; II. For the Murder of the Duke Dangulem (*sic*), Pichegru, and Georges (Cadoudal); III. For the Murder of Palm, Hoffer, &c.; IV. For the Murder of the twelve inhabitants of Moscow; V. For innumerable Robberies committed on all Nations in Christendom and elsewhere; VI. For Bigamy; and lastly, for returning from Transportation and setting the world in an uproar."

Another of Cruikshank's happy efforts is "Buonaparte on the 17th June—Bonaparte on the 17th July 1815" (S. Knight, August). The print is divided into three sections. In the first of these Napoleon, with drawn sword, threatens John Bull, who complacently smokes his pipe on the shores of his Island Fortress. At the feet of the Emperor lie cannon-balls, rockets, barrels of powder, and a bottle labelled "Poison." In the

A RARE ACQUISITION TO THE ROYAL MENAGERIE

A Present from Valerino by Marshall Wellington & Blacher

11—5

listance is the Isle of Elba. Napoleon says: "Ha, ha! ou bull beast, you blackguard Islander! You see I'm ome back again. And now you shall see what I will lo with you, you wretch! You thought I was done ver, did you? You thought I was going to stay at Elba? D—n all Elbas, Abdications, Englishmen, and heir allies! I'll play hell with them all!" To which John Bull calmly replies in a puff of smoke: "You nay be d——d! I'll make a tobacco-stopper of you!" n the second section Napoleon, as a suppliant, hat in and, kneels at the prow of the *Bellerophon*, his historic etter to the Prince Regent under his knees. John Bull, n spectacles, looks at him sternly, resting his hand on a gigantic oak-staff. In the background one sees glimpses f various countries faintly indicated as "France," "Port Jackson," and "St. Helena."

The suppliant says :—

"Oh, good Mr. Bull, I wish you to know
(Although you are my greatest foe),
That my career is at an end,
And I wish you now to stand my Friend.
For though at the Battle of Waterloo
I was by you beat black and blue,
Yet you see I wish to live with you,
For I'm sure what is said of your goodness is true.
And now if in England you'll let me remain,
I ne'er will be guilty of bad tricks again."

John Bull replies: "Let me see! First of all, you prang from the *Island of Corsica*, and when you was icked out of France and went to the *Island of Elba* ou made another spring into France again, and now vhen you are kicked out of France a second time, you vant to come and live in my island. But it won't do,

Master Boney; you'll be making another spring into France again, I suppose. So I tell you what, I'll send you to the Island of St. Helena, and we'll see what sort of a spring you will make then."

Other interesting caricatures on the same theme are "A Scene on Board, or Boney Receiving Good Advice" (issued without the name of an artist or publisher) and Cruikshank's "Boney's Threatened Invasion Brought to Bear, or Taking a View of the English Coast from the Poop of the *Bellerophon*" (Fores, September 10). On September 23, Napoleon crossed the line, but was spared the usual attentions on the part of "Father Neptune" to whom he desired to make a handsome gift. Some weeks later Johnston published L. Marks' "Boney Crossing the Line." Neptune, standing before the mast of the *Northumberland*, says: "I command you'll cleanse him from his iniquities." Three of the sailors are sousing Napoleon in a tub, one of them saying: "Have patience, gentlemen, and we'll shave you directly and give you a good *lathering*, as old Blücher did!!" The victim cries: "I no like the English valet-de-chambre; have mercy!" A negro sailor observes: "Massa Boney no like to be got in a line." Bertrand and Montholon, blindfolded, await their turn in trepidation.

In August, Humphrey published "Boney's Meditations on the Island of St. Helena. The Devil Addressing the Sun. *Paradise Lost*, Book IV.," which was apparently drawn and etched by George Cruikshank from the design of G. H. The same idea had already been utilised by Gillray in a caricature on Fox published July 22, 1783. In the present case Humphrey published the print which the late Mr. Truman regarded as the finest of all Cruik-

I Command you'l cleanse him from his Majesty's
Massa Boney no like to be got in a Bath"
I have the honour Gentlemen and will Shave you directly and give you a good Lathering as Old Blucher did!!
I wish de Dirty job was over"
Be gar I no like de Shaving Chin!!!
Ino like de English Water de Charge."
Marks Del.
Pub.d by J.Johnston Cheapside

BONEY CROSSING THE LINE.

shank's caricatures of Napoleon, and is now reproduced. Napoleon as the Devil, with the orthodox horns, wings, and hoofs, stands between two mountains of St. Helena, a tattered tricolour robe wrapped round his shoulders. In the right-hand top corner is a miniature portrait of the Prince Regent as the Sun, from which proceed rays lettered "Alexander," "Frederick William," "Francis," "William I. of Orange," "Wellington," "Blücher," "Hill," "Beresford," "Anglesea," and "Picton." Masses of clouds throw the Satanic countenance of the exiled Emperor into dark relief. A scroll of flame proceeds from his mouth, on which are read the words :—

"To thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add
Thy name, G. P. Rt. ! to tell thee
How I hate thy beams, that bring to
My remembrance from what state I fell."

On September 1 the *Scourge*[1] produced a folding plate by Cruikshank, divided into three sections: "Napoleon's Trip from Elba to Paris and from Paris to St. Helena." In the first Napoleon, mounted on an eagle, is seen flying towards Paris. His troops below are in full retreat. The eagle has only one wing, and from its beak falls a broken sceptre. From the bird's mouth come the words : "My left wing has entirely disappeared." Bonaparte says : "*Sauve qui peut*—the Devil take the hindmost. Run, my boys, your Emperor leads the way. My dear Eagle, only conduct me safe to Paris this time, as you did from Moscow and Leipzic, and I'll never trouble you again. Oh ! d—n that Wellington." In the second he stands on the poop of the *Bellerophon*. John Bull

[1] Vol. x. p. 161.

complacently regards him from a cosy chimney-corner, on the mantelpiece above which are the busts of George III., Wellington, and Blücher. Napoleon speaks of Themistocles. John replies: "So am I glad to see you, Mr. Boney, but I'll be d——d if you sit upon my hearth or any part of my house. It has cost me a pretty round sum to catch you, Mr. Themistocles, as you call yourself, but now I've got you I'll take care of you." In the third he is at St. Helena, with M. and Madame Bertrand, sitting on a stool and looking at a mouse-trap. He thus soliloquises :—

> "Alas, that I who caught Imperial flats
> Should now sit here to watch these scurvy rats.
> I, who Madrid, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow took,
> Am doomed with cheese to bait a nasty hook!
> Was it for this I tried to save my bacon,
> To use it now for rats that won't be taken?
> Curse their wise souls, I had not half the trouble
> Their European brethren to bubble.
> When I myself was hailed as Emperor Nap,
> Emperors and kings I had within my trap,
> And to this moment might have kept them there,
> Had I not gone to hunt the Russian bear!"[1]

"The Sorrows of Boney. Meditations on the Island of St. Helena" (M'Cleary, Dublin), is reproduced as an example of the frequent use of old plates in Napoleonic caricature.[2] On October 1, while Napoleon was still at sea, the anonymous caricature "Boxiana, or The Fancy,"

[1] This is the first mention of the rats, which figure so prominently in the St. Helena caricatures of Germany and France, as well as in those of England. The island was infested with vermin of this description.

[2] See "The Sorrows of Boney, or Meditations in the Isle of Elba," *ante*, vol. i. ch. xvi. p. 355. A similar caricature appeared in 1803 under the title of "Crocodile Tears."

appeared in the *Scourge*.[1] A prize-fight is supposed to be taking place between the burly Prince Regent and Napoleon. The latter is knocked out, and a chimney-sweep pulls a white feather out of his head crying: "Master, I've found a white feather." Napoleon's backer exclaims: "Foul! foul! by all the rules of honour! why, even blackey cries 'Shame.'" One of Napoleon's supporters exclaims: "What! Ben, my big hero, is this thy renown? Is this the new go? Kick a man when he's down! When the foe's knocked under, to tread on him! then by the fist of my Father, I blush for thee, Ben." The supporters of the Prince Regent, standing behind him, say: "Themistocles will be well treated if we can find any honour in him." While another observes: "Ah, we must send Themistocles to acquire honour at Botany Bay." There is already some slight sign of public opinion veering round in favour of Napoleon. This, however, is not apparent in the "transparency" which Rowlandson designed for Ackermann on the occasion of the celebration of the "General Peace" on November 27. In this Blücher is depicted in the act of killing Napoleon with a blunderbuss, while Wellington leads Louis XVIII. towards the French throne. On October 13, Napoleon reached St. Helena, and was already installed at Longwood, when, on January 1, 1816,[2] appeared in the *Scourge* Cruikshank's "Royal Christmas Boxes and New Year's Gifts, 1815–1816." The central place is given to the exile at St. Helena, who is portrayed as sitting in a pensive attitude, surrounded by pictures "to ornament the house that Jack built," such as "View of the Fall of St. Cloud,"

[1] Vol. x. p. 241. [2] Vol. xi. p. i.

"Battle of Waterloo," "Map of France," "Burning of Moscow," and so forth. The Sovereigns address him thus :—

"Well, Nap! you see we don't forsake you,
Although we had such pains to take you.
'Tis true we long have been profuse
Of Slang and Billingsgate abuse;
Have dealt in language most uncivil
And call'd you Robber, Murd'rer, Devil!
Man—butcher!—but of that no more,
For there we feel a common sore!
So cease, at lenth (*sic*) to plague and tease you
And send you what we hope will please you."

Bonaparte answers gloomily: "Did you ever hear the story of some fellows who broke a poor devil's head and then gave him a plaster?" At the feet of the Prince Regent are two boxes filled with ladies, a large doll's house ("the house that Jack built"), punch, wine, and a colour box from Ackermann's, ticketed 500 guineas!

From this time forwards Napoleon may be almost said to have disappeared from the arena of active pictorial satire, just as he had disappeared from the stage of European politics. The complaints of a plague of rats, made by the friends of the exiles in England, gave rise to a whole series of humorous prints like "The Inhabitants of St. Helena addressing their new Governor," "War in the East against the Rats by Napoleon the Great of St. Helena," "The Inhabitants of St. Helena Alarmed at the Appearance of their New Governor," and so forth. In the last-named plate Napoleon makes his appearance amongst an assemblage of rats, some of which are armed. He says: "Inhabitants of St. Helena, let's be friends. I declare you a free people. I give you as a pledge this faithful servant whom I have with me!" The Cat[1]

[1] Bertrand, *cf.* the play *Bertrand et Raton*.

By George Cruikshank, August 1815

says: "Now I shall be compensated." The Rats' leader says, addressing his fellows: "Gentlemen, we have not a moment to lose; let our Council assemble immediately to consult how we shall be able to expel these formidable invaders." Others cry: "To arms! To arms! Our mortal enemy approaches!"

The elaborate view of "Napoleon Bonaparte's Grecian Cottage" (W. Elmes, March 6, 1816) can hardly be regarded in any other light than that of a caricature. It depicts a superb three-storied edifice which is described as "designed by order of the British Government for the accommodation of Napoleon at St. Helena." The same may be said of a second view, by T. Hassell, of a less pretentious mansion facetiously entitled "Buonaparte's Mal-Maison" (Humphrey, July 12, 1821). When the latter appeared, Napoleon was beyond the reach of satire. The general theme of Cruikshank's "Boney's Meditations"[1] was speedily plagiarised. In the collection of the writer is a water-colour sketch of Napoleon in a white uniform, top boots and hat, seated weeping on one mountain peak, with his feet resting on another. Below his legs appear the houses, harbour, and forts of Jamestown. Three ships ride at anchor off the island.

A few months before Napoleon's death Ackermann (February 7, 1821) produced a small "practical" head which could be made to represent at will either Napoleon in his cocked hat or Talma in a Roman toga, but by this time the demand for such things had doubtless greatly diminished.

The Napoleonic caricatures of 1816–1821, such as they are, throw little or no light either on the great exile's

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. p. 355.

squabbles with Sir Hudson Lowe or the patient building up of the Napoleonic legend to which they were made subservient. They will not help the seeker after truth to any of the historic sidelights which are abundant in the pictorial satire relating to the Peninsular War, the Russian Campaign, or even the invasion of France by the Allies after Leipzic. They fall into two classes. Louis XVIII. proved a failure, and in several prints he is contrasted unfavourably with Napoleon, at least by implication. During the last years of Napoleon's life he grew stout and lethargic, losing gradually the elasticity for which he had always been remarkable. This possibly accounts for many of the portraits of him made at this period having the appearance of caricatures. George Cruikshank's "Louis XVIII. climbing the Mat de Cocagne" [1] (October 5, 1815) is an interesting example of the caricatures in which the two rulers of France are contrasted. The print from which Cruikshank took the idea is described as "the new French caricature selling privately in Paris." The portly Louis, constantly exclaiming "Support me, or I shall fall," at last reaches the top of the mast, and thus addresses a golden eagle, typifying the French Army, having above it a crown decked with tricolour ribbons. Wellington, standing on the shoulders of the King of Prussia, supports the restored Sovereign on the point of his sword. The King of Prussia in turn stands on the shoulders of the Emperor Alexander sitting astride the back of Francis of Austria,

[1] The *mat de cocagne* is a long pole well soaped upon which are hung on public occasions various prizes which he who succeeds in climbing the pole obtains. The poor creature of total incapacity affords infinite pity and merriment and tumbles down faster than he ascends. He who fails once and tries again affords the most sport.

THE SORROWS OF BONEY
or
Meditations in the Island of St Helena.

Published by McClery, of Dublin, in the Autumn of 1815

leaning on bags of English money lettered "Subsidies." The King of Rome in the leading-strings of Marie Louise tugs at the coat-tails of his grandfather and begs his mother to induce her father to leave "all these folks to themselves." The Empress in tears says :—

> "Oh, where and oh, where, is my dear Napoleon gone?
> He is gone to St. Helena, and my son has lost his throne."

Behind, the Empress stands on a stool, a figure half-soldier, half-priest (Chateaubriand), from whose lips come the words: "Call me Chateaubriand or Shatter-brain, or what you will; charge anything upon me but birth and soberness. I, who am the greatest and most eloquent humbug in Europe and the first poetical Church militant statesman in France."

A little farther off is Fouché, carrying two bags lettered "Secrets of Napoleon" and "Secrets of Louis XVIII." Talleyrand whispers in his ear: "My dear Fouché, that charlatan Chateaubriand has jockeyed us both." To the right is seen the Pope ascending a second greasy pole, tiara in hand, and shouting: "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven! You can do no good on earth." Below, John Bull is holding out his money-bags, while the Duchesse d'Angoulême confides to her bewildered husband that he will never get the throne or an heir to it. Across the sea is Napoleon, standing between the two peaks of St. Helena. He exclaims: "I climbed up twice without any help."

"Fast Colours. Patience on a Monument smiling at Grief, or The Royal Laundress washing Boney's Court Dresses" (W. Hone, October 26, 1815),[1] was drawn and

[1] A Swedish caricature appears to be a copy or adaptation of this.

etched by Cruikshank "from the design of G. H." Louis XVIII., as a washerwoman, with a bottle of holy water and a glass close at hand, by way of refreshment, and a supply of salts of lemon on the ground, says: "Bless me, how *fast* these *colours* are! I'm afraid I shall not get them white, although I've got such a strong lather!" Napoleon, looking on from St. Helena, exclaims: "Ha, ha! such old women as you may rub a long while before they'll be all white, for they are tricoloured ingrained."

Hone also published (November 9, 1815) Cruikshank's "The After-Piece to the Tragedy of Waterloo, or Madame Françoise and her Managers." France is seen extended on the ground. Her fetters are being riveted by Austria, Russia, and Holland. Wellington is in the act of driving in a staple, to which her right arm is to be attached, while Prussia is taking off the miniature of Napoleon hanging to her neck. A tricolour shield, inscribed "Napoleon le Grand," lies broken by her side. A figure in armour forces her to swallow a spoonful of Bourbons attached to the end of a musket, while the English Minister holds out a Cap of Liberty in one hand and a mural crown with cannon protruding, saying: "It delights me when I see a country enjoying her old-established privileges—my own country, to wit." Wellington exclaims: "We enter France as friends. Well, I've crippled her *Arms*, if that will do her any good." Blücher adds: "France shall choose her own Rulers, only she must have the Bourbons. We know what is best for her and ourselves too." In the background a number of soldiers are removing the borrowed treasures of the Louvre. In the corner John Bull, overlooking the

whole scene, observes: "My soul, but they are befriending Mumsel France indeed!! Well, I've no objection to their rendering her all that sort of assistance in their power, for she well deserves it; only, they did not mention all this fun in their Proclamation."

In the *Scourge* of December 1, 1815,[1] appeared another of George Cruikshank's caricatures, "The State of Politics at the Close of 1815." Louis XVIII., obese, gouty, crippled, and surrounded by priests, is held up on a platform by the Prince Regent, the Emperors of Russia, and Austria and Bernadotte. In the distance Napoleon at St. Helena exclaims: "What is my crime? It must be ambition; but for that I might have been the continental ruler now." A voice from heaven thunders: "O ye kings of the earth, take warning and let the fate of your outcast brother be of benefit to mankind."

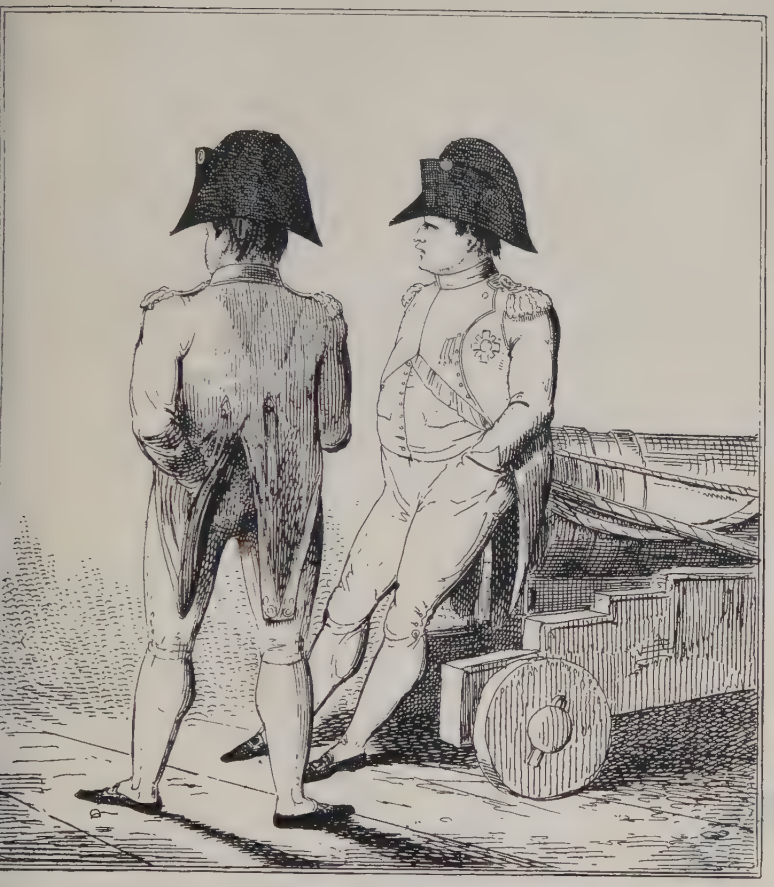
Cruikshank had no more mercy on the restored Bourbon than he had on Napoleon. "Old Bumblehead" took the place of "Little Boney," and was never given a moment's rest. There was no more convenient whip wherewith to chastise him that the exile at St. Helena, now busily occupied in laying the foundations of a second empire.

In "Dreams of Terror, or The Vision of Louis XVIII." (Sidebotham), the sleeping monarch is haunted by the spirits of Ney and Labédoyère, who are seen offering the crown to Napoleon, while Marie Louise and the King of Rome drive the gouty Louis and his pigs out of France.[2] In "Un Gourmand" (Fores, January 20, 1820),

[1] Vol. x. p. 401.

[2] Captain Douglas informs the writer that in a second state of this plate, a Grenadier is introduced, who urges the King forward with his bayonet.

Louis XVIII. is seen at dinner, with a portrait of Napoleon looking at him from the walls. In a series of comparative back-views of Napoleon and Louis XVIII., the latter is placed decidedly at a disadvantage. One of these views portrays Louis as an enormous elephant! Captain Douglas attributes this to Cruikshank, but on the Truman copy of the plate now in the possession of the writer George Cruikshank emphatically disclaims its authorship. The position of European affairs in 1820 is depicted in an anonymous plate entitled "King Naughty and his Brothers" (Milleville, Hampstead). In the centre of a vast apartment stands George IV., made ridiculous by his abnormal obesity, and the addition of a pair of ass's ears. About thirty of the caricatures, concerning his unsatisfactory marital relations, line the walls. Through an open door Napoleon is discerned, standing on the summit of the Island of St. Helena. Three citizens stand in the doorway, saying: (1) "You are the laughing-stock of your faithful brothers, who are no better than yourself." (2) "We have found you out at length, in spite of your mask. Do us justice, or we shall give you your deserts. Whitehall is not gone and there is room for you all." (3) "Boney, Boney, you alone deserve our tears. Your fall has been as fatal to them as to ourselves. Your return would save us all." Amongst the other personages depicted are the King of Prussia, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Sultan, the Kings of Sweden, the Netherlands, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the Emperor of China. The King of Rome is seen endeavouring to move a large bowl, and is encouraged by the words: "Be comforted. In a little time you will roll it." The British Ministers, the Duke of Wellington,



A BACK VIEW OF NAPOLEON ON BOARD THE "NORTHUMBERLAND"
By Commissary Denzil Ibbetson

Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Earl of Liverpool dance around a manacled figure of Britannia, while bottles labelled "Cape Claret" probably refer to the questions of Napoleon's dietary allowance. At the top of this most elaborate caricature are depicted Queen Caroline enthroned between Justice and Truth, the Sun in his glory, and allegorical groups of figures crying "God save the Queen!"

The question of the caricature-portraits of Napoleon which appeared between 1816 and 1821 is exceedingly interesting. Some twelve varieties of these portraits are in the collection of the writer. The most important of them is a water-colour sketch on thick official paper of Napoleon leaning against a cannon turned to the right with his hands in his pockets, and a cocked-hat pulled down over his eyes. He is wearing a green coat with epaulets and red collar and cuffs; a white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings and pumps. Below, in the handwriting of Theodore Hook, is the following inscription: "This sketch of NAPOLEON was made on board the *Northumberland* Man of War on her voyage to St. Helena, by Mr. Commissary Ibbetson, who gave it to me in that Island. Theodore E. Hook."[1] This

[1] Theodore Hook, who had held for some years, with disastrous results to his family and himself, the post of Accountant-General and Treasurer at Mauritius, visited St. Helena in 1817 on his way home. He espoused the cause of Sir Hudson Lowe against O'Meara with characteristic energy, and published in 1819 "Facts illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon Buonaparte in St. Helena, being the result of Minute Inquiries and Personal Research in that Island. London, W. Stockdale, 181 Piccadilly." (See Forsyth, *Napoleon at St. Helena and Sir Hudson Lowe*, vol. iii. p. 181.) Commissary Ibbetson went out to St. Helena with Napoleon, and at the end of 1817 was promoted to the Longwood "purveyorship," hitherto in the hands of Mr. Balcombe and his firm. He instituted a system of cheques or *bons* which gave great offence to Napoleon. In the description of one of the

picture was given by Hook to some member of the family of Mr. Marsden the publisher, in whose possession it remained until the writer became its owner. A rough reproduction, either of this drawing or of a duplicate of it, appeared in England between 1817 and 1821. A copy of this coloured lithograph is in the collection of the writer, and one hangs in the room once occupied by the Duke of Wellington at Walmer, although the caretaker insists that the original sketch was made on the *Bellerophon*—the popular "Billy Ruffian" of our great-grandfathers. In the lithograph the waistcoat is red instead of white. In the possession of the writer is also a contemporary woodcut of a "Back View" of Napoleon, inscribed, "From a sketch by D. I. on board the *Northumberland*." This, like the Hook water-colour, affords important aid in the identification of two of these caricature-portraits hitherto attributed to George Cruikshank.

On January 1, 1816, Thomas Palser, of the Westminster Bridge Road, published a highly-finished stipple caricature-portrait of Napoleon, engraved by Williams and coloured by hand. The general treatment resembles the work of Ibbetson, only the background is different. In both cases he leans on a cannon. The lining of the coat is pink instead of white. Napoleon went on board the *Northumberland* on August 7, and the ship sailed immediately. On August 24–25 she was at Madeira. St. Helena was not reached until October 15. It therefore looks as if one of Ibbetson's sketches must have been sent home from Madeira. That it could have

views of Napoleon's funeral on May 9, 1821, it is stated that "the troops on the Island were drawn up on the heights fronting the road between Longwood and Mr. Ibbetson's house at Hut's Gate." (See Forsyth, vol. iii. p. 6.)

THE NAPOLEON LADDER.

Published by Cozens, 1821

been made at Plymouth amidst the hurry of departure is highly unlikely.

While these volumes were going through the press the writer was fortunate enough to become possessed of four more St. Helena caricature-portraits of Napoleon, all of which he believes to be the work of Commissary Denzil Ibbetson. In each case the paper used for them is of the same kind as that employed for the Hook sketch, and they all throw considerable light on the controversy which has long raged amongst collectors as to the authorship of the "back-view" print which will be discussed presently. These portraits are as follows :—

1. *Napoleon.*—A back-view, showing the Emperor wearing a green coat with epaulets, red facings, pale pink breeches, white silk stockings, and cocked hat. The head is turned slightly to the left. The water-mark of the paper is 180–.

2. *Napoleon, Bertrand, and Las Cases.*—Back-view of the Emperor as in 1. The green coat is more pronounced and the breeches of a brown tint. The head is turned to the left. Bertrand, to the right, is drawn in profile. He wears a dark blue coat with breeches and boots, and holds a cocked hat behind him. We have a back view of Las Cases with his head to the right. He is wearing a dark blue civilian's coat, with top-boots, and trousers. He also holds a hat behind him.

3. *Napoleon, Bertrand, and Las Cases.*—In this sketch Napoleon is drawn in profile to the right. He wears a green coat with black collar and cuffs and a cocked hat. His hands are in his pocket. Bertrand and Las Cases are practically as in 2. This water-colour is

inscribed in pen and ink, "A View at Longwood in the Island of St. Helena, 1816."

4. *Napoleon.*—This sketch (which is probably the earliest of the four) bears a most striking resemblance to the Hook portrait now reproduced, only there is no background. Napoleon wears a cocked hat with a small cockade, a dark green coat with epaulets and red collar, cuffs, and lining, and a white waistcoat. He also wears the star of the Legion of Honour and small decorations, silk stockings, and salmon-pink breeches.

Denzil Ibbetson was the first of the St. Helena amateur portraitists. He began his work on the deck of the *Northumberland*. Major Stewart is responsible for an early "back-view" of Napoleon, which appears in a print of the "Briars," where, according to M. Albert Schuermans, Napoleon resided from Thursday, October 19, 1815, until Sunday, December 10, following. Up till November 28 he wore the uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard, as he had done on the *Northumberland*, but from that date he assumed civilian attire (*frac* or tail-coat) with *plaque*, &c. On the day he took possession of Longwood he once more appeared in uniform.[1] The following is the full title of the Stewart view which was engraved by Slader :—

"The present residence of Buonaparte on the Island of St. Helena with the surrounding scenery, in which he is introduced in the position in which he is commonly seen. The whole drawn from nature, and executed on the spot by Major Stewart of the 24th Regt. of Foot, passenger in the *Bombay*, the only Vessell that has been

[1] *Itinéraire Général*, p. 369.

"THE FIVE HEADS." NAPOLEON AND HIS FELLOW-EXILES OF 1815

permitted to touch on the Island since Buonaparte's arrival."

The writer thinks it probable that Major Stewart borrowed the "back view" of Napoleon from one or other of the Denzil Ibbetson sketches. Somewhat later, three or four caricature-portraits of Napoleon were drawn by Captain (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel Dodgin), who, late in 1818, succeeded Colonel Lascelles in command of the 66th Regiment. His name is traced in pencil on an original water-colour in the possession of the writer, and his workmanship is very inferior to that of Mr. Ibbetson. The Napoleon of Captain Dodgin has no neck, and the drawing generally is poor.

Nothing need be said here of the death-bed illustrations for which Captain Marryat, C.B., and a Chinese artist are held responsible.

In the works of Reid and Douglas mention is made of a plate described as "Napoleon Buonaparte and four of his Suite" (Reid, No. 504, and Douglas, No. 736). In the Truman Sale a copy of this print, with the names written in pencil, figured in the catalogue as "probably unique, with George Cruikshank's writing below each portrait." On the reverse of the plate Mr. Truman had written: "The writing is all his (Cruikshank's), bought at his last sale, 1881, lot 169." This copy came into the possession of the writer, who ceded it to Captain Douglas on finding he already possessed two examples of the plate, which was published by Hassell on May 1, 1817. Some time after the Truman Sale the late Field-Marshal Sir Frederick Haines addressed a letter to a newspaper in which he claimed the authorship of this print also

for Commissary-General Ibbetson, whom he spoke of as being "on Napoleon's Staff at St. Helena." In the "Five Heads" plate Napoleon is in the centre, with Las Cases and Montholon to the right, and Bertrand and Gourgaud to the left. The head and shoulders of Napoleon appear to have been sketched by the artist who drew both the Hook portrait, the four sketches now in possession of the writer, and the frontispiece for Captain John Barnes's *Tour through the Island of St. Helena*.[1]

The earliest of the impressions of plate in the collection of the writer is a proof before letters on pale green paper. The names are supplied in contemporary handwriting, and a right-hand note in the corner made by the same person runs, "Drawn on the passage to St. Helena by D. I."[2] The writer is therefore of opinion that Ibbetson was beyond doubt the author of this curious plate, although Cruikshank may very possibly have copied it or etched it.

The writer, for reasons already sufficiently explained, entertains the same opinion as regards the "Back View" plate containing two figures of Napoleon, now reproduced from the copy in the British Museum. This is also attributed to Cruikshank by Captain Douglas,[3] but the

[1] This was engraved by R. B. Peake "from a sketch made in the Island by a highly esteemed Gentleman *who was passenger from England to St. Helena with him in the Northumberland*." Captain Barnes held the office of Town Major and Civil and Military Surveyor in the Hon. East India Company's service at St. Helena. His book was published by I. M. Richardson, 23 Cornhill. The name of Denzil Ibbetson appears amongst the subscribers.

[2] For some time the writer was under an erroneous impression as to the authorship of the "Five Heads" plate, having read the initials as W. F. instead of D. I. as they certainly are.

[3] "713. Napoleon: a Back View (*uncoloured*). No lettering or inscription (1814, *sic*). Very rare, only one in the British Museum, and one in Mr. Burton's collection, which brought £2 at his sale." (Douglas, *The Works of George Cruikshank*, p. 135.)

resemblance of the figure shown in profile to that in Ibbetson's drawings is even more remarkable and convincing.

Several variations of the "Back View" appeared, before Napoleon's death, one of them being facetiously lettered "Change for a Sovereign." If any further proof is wanting, it exists in the old woodcut, which is actually lettered "From a sketch by D. I. taken on board the *Northumberland*."

As recently as July 15, 1910, the following item appeared in a London auction-catalogue :—

"*Napoleon.* Naval Regulations at St. Helena during Buonaparte's residence there, MS. by Admiral Plampin, *with pencil portrait of Napoleon inserted*—Certificate of the Officer of the Guard : 'All is well with respect to General Bonaparte, Nov. 27, 1818,' *with sketch of Napoleon taken by the Officer, and water-colour portrait of the Officer.* 1818."

On examining the "sketches" they proved to be pen-and-ink drawings of the four subordinate heads in the *Northumberland* plate. That of Napoleon was wanting. It is possible they were drawn by Ibbetson to enable the various officers on guard to identify the leading members of the household at Longwood.

. . . . . .

In 1821 appeared anonymously "Napoleon's Ladder,"[1] an interesting symbolical print, in which the story of Napoleon's career is very effectively summarised. On two pedestals stand cannon—two on each—breech upwards, united by bars and covered with vignette views, and surmounted by medallions, one showing

[1] W. Cozens, Aldersgate Street.

Napoleon in glory, the other in exile. On the bars to the left are inscribed the words—Toulon, Lodi, Arcola, Egypt, Council of 500, Crossing the Alps, Marengo, Empire; on those to the left, going downwards—Moscow, Leipzic, Abdication, Return from Elba, Surrender, Exile, Death. In the centre of the base of the first trophy the eagle is seen flying sunwards; on that of the second the bird lies prone in the gloaming. The great drama was over, and on May 6, 1821, the "general itinerary" of the most extraordinary life the world has ever known closed abruptly with the words, "Napoleon is dead." But the aftermath of Napoleonic traditions and ideas, and even that of Napoleon in caricature, endures and will endure as long as the world lasts. Even the back-view caricature-portrait of the great exile had an aftermath of its own. We read in the Diary of B. R. Haydon, under the date of March 7, 1844: "I have painted nineteen Napoleons. Thirteen 'Musings at St. Helena' and six other 'Musings.' By heavens, how many more!" In Haydon's "Musings at St. Helena" we see only the back of Napoleon, who is standing on a cliff, gazing at the departing glories of the day as the sun sets in the ocean.

CHAPTER XIX

NAPOLEON IN FRENCH CARICATURE, SUMMER OF 1795 TO MAY 4, 1814

"Le ridicule a acquis tant de force en France qu'il est devenu l'arme la plus terrible qu'on y puisse employer."—BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE.

"Dix empires conquis devinrent ses provinces
Il ne fut pas content dans son orgueil fatal ;
Il ne voulait dormir qu'en une cour de princes
Sur un trône continental."
—VICTOR HUGO, *Ode*, March 1822.

THE first French caricature of Napoleon Bonaparte, known as the "Little Coblenz," was the work of no less a distinguished artist than Jean Baptist Isabey (1767–1855), who, being two years the senior of Napoleon I., lived nevertheless to see the advent to power of Napoleon III. Although not engraved till long after Napoleon's death, the sketch was made some time during the summer which preceded the day of Vendémiaire. Before describing it, or dealing with the earlier caricatures of the man who was still plain General Bonaparte, it is necessary to clear up certain misconceptions which exist on the general subject of French Napoleonic caricatures, and are mainly attributable to the scant attention which the subject has received at the hands of French writers.[1] In a recent work, *The*

[1] Champfleury devotes the fourth volume of his *History of Caricature* to the French satirical prints of the Republic, the Empire and the Restoration. Out of twenty-one chapters, covering 357 pages, only one chapter (ch.

History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature, already referred to, we are told in one place that "throughout the Napoleonic period England practically had a monopoly in caricature," while in another regret is expressed that Napoleon "with questionable wisdom sternly repressed pictorial satire of a political nature," and so prevented the creation of "a school that would have offset with its Gallic wit the heavier school of English invective!" [1]

So far from this being the case Napoleon was quite as well aware of the advantages of caricature as Pitt or any of his successors,[2] and utilised them extensively during fourteen years as a means of stimulating public opinion against perfidious John Bull, who was persistently represented as the master-briber of the Continent, whose demoralising influence and unlimited supply of guineas alone prevented Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Spain tamely submitting to his yoke. Hence the constant attacks, often of the grossest conceivable nature, on George III. and Queen Charlotte, the Prince Regent, the Dukes of York and Cambridge, Nelson and Wellington,

xviii.), of seventeen pages, directly concerns "Bonaparte-Napoleon." In this brief chapter Champfleury confines his attention almost entirely to the efforts of Gillray and Rowlandson. He says that during the halcyon days of the Empire the caricaturist was "kept under with an iron hand," but that when Napoleon fell, "Calumny and worse than calumny were mingled with the froth of venom. Odious punishments were advocated by courtier artists, who had no respect for the agony of the man. Numerous 'ass's kicks' were bestowed on the muzzled lion, and the *Væ victis* appeared in all its cowardice."

[1] *History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature.* Maurice & Cooper, 1904, pp. 65 and 29. In this volume several caricatures of German origin are credited to France; in the important print, "The Consultation," Cambacérès is wrongly identified as Cardinal Fesch, and the famous "corpse-head" (see ch. xxix.) is described as commemorating the German successes of 1814, instead of those of 1813—the year of Dresden and Leipzic.

[2] See Introductory Essay, p. xxxiii.

and, above all, on the much-hated and much-dreaded Pitt,[1] in whom Napoleon recognised his most powerful foe. So intense was Napoleon's detestation of the "Pilot who weathered the storm," that he allowed his death to be made the subject of a series of abominable satirical prints. The caricature, "The Head and the Brain," now reproduced, will give some idea of the pictorial satire directed against England in Paris during the first years of the nineteenth century. It is also easy to trace to Napoleon's personal influence caricatures on the Queen of Naples, Drake, the easily-gulled British Minister at Munich, Lord Morpeth, and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel.[2] Napoleon was quite as capable a suggester of themes for caricature as his successor Louis XVIII., who often prompted attacks of this kind on his own Ministers and courtiers. In the great majority of the prints for the production of which the Emperor was directly or indirectly responsible, he does not of course figure personally, but there are exceptions to the rule. In the elaborate caricature "Arrival of the Duke of Cambridge at the Court of his Father," the First Consul hovers in the air as the Gallic cock.

[1] "Francis II. off to the War" is a fair example of these inspired caricatures. In this print John Bull at table gives Austria a bag of gold. Similar presents are in store for Prussia and Sweden. Pitt, peeping through a curtain, says, "Not being able to increase our own population, let us lessen that of the Continent." On similar lines are elaborated the satirical prints "The Prince of Hesse-Cassel Trading," "The Descent," "George's Playthings," "George's Awakening," "Plan of Campaign of 1806," and "The Prussian Puncture" of the same year. In this caricature is portrayed the extraction of guineas from the stomach of Prussia by a surgical operation. Three large receptacles are already full of coins. A soldier weeps. On the wall is a picture of the "Tyranny of the Sea." Lord Morpeth appears in the doorway with seven more bags lettered "London" filled with money. The Prussian cries, "Take away your gold, I have already received too much."

[2] J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 62 and 84.

It is not surprising that historians and artists are equally ashamed of the unmanly and disgusting attacks made on Napoleon by French artists between the early months of 1814 and his final disappearance from the sphere of practical politics in August 1815. On this topic there exists, and has long existed, a conspiracy of silence, and it is scarcely to be wondered at, although it originates in no lack of materials. No political *rancune*, however bitter, can possibly excuse either the cowardice or the indecency with which the fallen and exiled Emperor was assailed in plates like "Charon's Wherry" (or the "Last Judgment"), the "Last Home of Nicholas Bonaparte," "The Mirror of Truth," "Street Cleaning for the Return of the King," the "Corsican Minotaur," the "Tyrant Unmasked," and fifty others, of which examples are to be found in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée Carnavalet, as well as in those of Senator Paul Le Roux and the present writer. The history of political caricature in France may almost be said to begin with the Revolution. Some thousands of satirical prints appeared during the earlier part of the last decade of the eighteenth century, and if the caricatures in which Napoleon figured personally, from the days of Vendémiaire till those of the débacle which followed Leipzic, are comparatively few, from that time onwards they began to appear in big battalions, but with one or two exceptions invariably *anonymously* as far as the artist is concerned, and in many cases without the name of the publisher.

Champfleury points out the extent to which both their conception and execution were influenced by the classicism of David, some of whose pupils perpetrated

LOITERERS BY MARTINET'S PRINT SHOP, AT THE RUE DU COQ, IN PARIS—1814.

"THE LITTLE COBLENZ." 1795

satirical sketches which they took care not to sign. Amongst the eminent painters to whom Napoleonic caricatures have been attributed are Jean Baptiste Isabey (1767–1855), Louis Leopold Boilly (1761–1845), Emile Jean Horace Vernet (1789–1863), and his father Antoine Charles Horace Vernet (1758–1836)—more commonly known as "Carle" Vernet—the gifted creator of those delightful prints of the "Merveilleux" and "Incroyables" of both sexes. The name of Pierre Maleuvre, the pupil of Sir Robert Strange, and born as far back as 1740, appears on some of the caricatures of the Napoleonic epoch, as well as those of John Charles Tardieu (1765–1830), familiarly called "Cochin," and E. H. Langlois (1777–1837). In a skilfully etched plate Langlois denounced and ridiculed the attacks which were constantly levelled against the muzzled lion of St. Helena.[1]

Amongst the artists of the period 1795–1815 to whom caricatures have been attributed are P. A. Hennequin, V. M. Picot, Ruotte, L. F. Charon, Forestier, Chasselat, Desrais, and Tassart. As might be expected, the reigns of Napoleon the Great and Louis the Desired overlap in the matter of pictorial satire. For the years which followed 1815 the former served as a lash with which the unwieldy monarch, whose throne was propped up by the bayonets of the Allied Powers, could be most conveniently chastised. There sprang up a new school of caricaturists, nearly all of whom were born during the Napoleonic regime, who combined to annihilate the suspicious, bigoted, and ill-favoured Charles X., and to bring about the collapse of the Citizen King who supplanted him. Some of them may possibly have tried

[1] See "The Ass's Kick," *post*, p. 81.

their 'prentice hand on the Emperor himself, and in any case they figure in what the writer has ventured to describe as the Napoleonic aftermath.[1]

Of the publishers of caricatures in Paris the best-known was Martinet, of 13 and 15 Rue du Coq Honoré or St. Honoré, whose long shop-front, well stocked with prints, was to the inhabitants of the "gay City" what those of Fores, Humphrey, Ackermann, and Tegg were to the Londoner during the Great Terror of 1796–1805. About 1814 Tegg republished in colours Martinet's humorous view of his own establishment under its original title "Les Musards de la Rue du Coq à Paris,"[2] introducing into it the handbill of "Tegg, Grand Marchand des Caricatures Anglaises." By some unaccountable error the sign-board bears the obviously erroneous inscription "Marinet Marchand Destampes," and the number of the house appears as 124. In the French version the wording is correct. Tegg's advertisement is absent and the caricatures in the window are less numerous. Martinet opened his shop in the year of "Vendémiaire" (1795). From the first he made a special feature of costume plates and caricatures. The greater number of the anti-"John Bull" prints inspired by Napoleon bear his name as publisher. In year X. (1802) Martinet produced "The Promenade of Longchamps," a print which recently realised more than £20 in London. As might be expected, Martinet trimmed his sails in judicious accord

[1] Philipon, the inventor of the "Louis Philippe Pear," heads this list. Amongst his contemporaries were Hippolyte Chevalier (Gavarni), b. 1804, Henry Monnier, b. 1799, Charles Joseph Traviès, b. 1804, and Honoré Daumier, b. 1808. Daumier lived till 1879, Chevalier till 1866, Monnier till 1877, and Traviès till 1859.

[2] The French plate by Bosio appeared first in 1802.

THE PEOPLE'S FILLIP. 1796

with the march of events. In 1814–15 he possibly tried to suit the tastes of both parties. In 1821 Honorat Hautecœur married Martinet's daughter, and the designation of the house was changed to that of Hautecœur-Martinet, and so it continued until 1843, when the business passed into the hands of their two sons. In 1868 the firm of Hautecœur-Martinet Brothers was dissolved, and the whole of the interests in it passed into the hands of M. Alfred Hautecœur, who died in 1882. His son, M. Jules Hautecœur, the great grandson of the founder, Honoré, is now sole proprietor of the "Ancienne Maison Martinet." The Rue du Coq, which ran from the Place de l'Oratoire to the Rue St. Honoré, in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal, vanished during the improvements of the Second Empire, and the business, which has survived at least six revolutions, as well as the Commune, has since 1855 been carried on at 172 Rue de Rivoli, just opposite the Ministry of Finance. By the irony of fate the statues of Hoche, Massena, Lannes, and Kleber appear to gaze down complacently at the establishment now directed by the descendant of the man whose calling played no unimportant part in the career of the famous warrior for whom two of them gave their lives. It was at Martinet's shop in which Napoleon, Louis XVIII., and the Count d'Artois were made fun of in turn, that the caricature of the "calicots" and the descriptive lines—

> "Et ces fiers enfants de Bellone
> Dont les moustaches vous font peur
> Ont un comptoir pour champ d'honneur
> Et pour arme une demi-aune."

narrowly missed causing a serious riot.

There were many other publishers of caricatures who flourished in Paris between 1795 and 1815. Amongst the best known of them were Depeuille in the Rue des Mathurins, Rolland in the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, Basset in the Rue St. Jacques (No. 671), Bance in the Rue St. Denis (No. 175), and Genty in the Rue St. Jacques (No. 14). One meets more rarely with the names of Picot, 25 Rue des Postes; Depeuille *fils*, Cloître St. Germain l'Auxerrois (11); Michel, Rue du Coq; Courbe, Montagne St. Geneviève; Beaublé, Rue St. Séverin (18); Bonneville, Rue St. Jacques (95); J. Loysel, Rue du Plâtre St. Jacques (18), and Garson, 25 Rue de la Hachette.

In 1835, when King Louis Philippe was carrying out his revival of Napoleonic enthusiasm, a Paris bookseller named Delloye of the Rue des Filles, St. Thomas, began to issue the *Musée de la Caricature*, an illustrated periodical, the editorship of which was entrusted to E. Jaime. It continued to appear during nearly three years, and a complete set of them would make two or three handsome quarto volumes.[1] Several well-known writers supplied the descriptive text, and the illustrations, to each of which an entire page was devoted, were well executed. Of the caricatures thus produced twenty-three relate directly to Napoleon, and descriptions of them are supplied either by the editor personally or by MM. Jules Janin and L. Halévy. They are certainly written in a spirit of hostility to "John Bull," which would have satisfied their original inspirer. The now almost unattainable *Musée* forms to-day one of the most

[1] See J. Maynial in *Revue Biblio-iconographique*, Nov. 1901; and G. Vicaire in *Manuel de l'Amateur des Livres du XIX. Siècle*, 1904.

"YOU'VE GOT TO DANCE." 1797

valuable contributions to the scanty literature which exists on the subject of Napoleon in French caricature, and reference will be frequently made to it. It must be remembered that every number of it is paged separately.

The first glimpse one obtains of Napoleon in a contemporary caricature is, as has already been stated, that afforded us by Isabey's sketch, "The Little Coblenz,[1] or The Boulevard de Gand under the Directory," which was found in the collection of the late Count de La Berandière, and engraved about 1880 by Loizelet. The original related to the summer of 1795, and amongst the quaintly dressed strollers on the Boulevard de Gand (now the Boulevard de la Madeleine), gently satirised by Isabey in the water-colour now reproduced, are Murat, Vestris (the dancer), Garat, Girondin (Minister at Naples), Madame Récamier, Talleyrand, Bonaparte, and the artist himself. Bonaparte is wearing an *incroyable* cravat and is placed in the background, a position he was not destined much longer to occupy.

The day of Vendémiaire arrives, and Bonaparte becomes the man of the hour. To his first great success refers the aquatint "The People's Fillip," now given as an illustration.[2] Hercules is depicted in the act of "flicking" a number of armed manikins from his arm, while Bonaparte alone contrives to climb up to his shoulder and seize his club. The goddess of Victory,

[1] The exiled French Princes were then at Coblenz.

[2] Inscriptions on the copy of this print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and on that from the Soulavie Collection in possession of the writer, attribute its authorship to P. A. Hennequin (1763–1833), a pupil of David, who painted several historical pictures of Napoleon's military achievements in the early years of the nineteenth century. This remarkable plate does not figure in the *Musée de Caricature.*

standing on an altar, holds two crowns of laurels over the successful warrior. The first fruits of "13 Vendémiaire" are Napoleon's marriage and his appointment to the command of the Army of Italy. The next caricatures concern his triumphs in the Italic Peninsula. In the plate reproduced, "You've got to Dance," he is portrayed as making Italian peasants caper merrily round a tree of liberty—a pole entwined with laurels and crowned with a Phrygian bonnet. On the ground lies wounded the winged Lion of St. Mark of Venice (May to June 1796). In "Mantua is Taken" we see the effect produced by the news of Bonaparte's success on the Papal Court, and the negotiations which ensued between the French generalissimo and the Sovereign Pontiff are amusingly satirised in "Kiss that, Papa," in which Bonaparte, in the guise of the Gallic cock, holds out a birch-rod to a lame cat wearing the crown of St. Peter, with the intimation that he should accept his fate without resistance. It is in this plate that Bonaparte first personifies the bird which symbolises French courage.

Towards the conclusion of the Italian campaign Bonaparte was appointed to the supreme command of the Army of England (October 26, 1797), and shortly afterwards appeared the elaborate stipple engraving "An Allegory," by V. M. Picot, now reproduced. The caricatures "Beginning of the End," "Satisfaction and Petrifaction," "I am Frightened," and "I am Overjoyed," all relate to the proposed expedition against England. In June 1798 Malta surrendered to Bonaparte, and Depeuille published two corresponding caricatures, entitled respectively "Situation of the Maltese" and

Despair of the English." During the month pre-
ding the Battle of the Nile another popular cari-
ture, "The Café d'Orange at Plymouth," made its
ppearance.

It is dealt with at length by Jules Janin in the *Musée*,
here it figures as Plate No. 57.[1] The "Café d'Orange"
intended to satirise the uneasiness occasioned in
ngland by the French capture of Malta, the failure of
e English troops in the Netherland, and the situation
Ireland and Portugal. Bonaparte again appears
the Gallic cock engaged in a surgical operation
hich need not be particularised. Major Grosvenor
om Ireland is made to say: "Little Bonaparte[2] has
ft us nothing. Our Squadron controls Portugal. The
rench will turn us out of that." John Bull replies:
Malta is taken. Bonaparte will not remain there."
arbaro, famous hero on account of the return from
stend, vomits forth Malta oranges profusely.
rosvenor observes: "Don't be depressed, Barbaro.
anges from Portugal are better." Barbaro replies:
God damn this indigestion. I shall not eat Maltese
anges again."

In dealing with this curious caricature one is
tounded to find that Jules Janin writes: "It is
who began to make caricatures against the
nglish on the subject of General Bonaparte; from
e first day England never gave a moment's respite
her to France or the Emperor, but indulged in

[1] It is essential to note that in the *Musée de la Caricature* nothing like
hronological sequence of illustrations is attempted.

[2] This may have possibly suggested the famous phrase "Little Boney" to
lray.

pictorial satire to an extent which is almost incredible and conceived in a spirit of animosity and complete disregard of truth which would disgrace a drunken footman, still more so a great nation. Alas! what a wide distance separates the victorious cock which administers a remedy to Sir Barbaro in the Plymouth tavern, and the old toothless and broken-winded lion who received the kick of Wellington at Waterloo."

In the course of 1798 a much cleverer caricature by Ruotte was published by Rolland under the designation of "The Reckoning," the scene of which is also laid in an eating-house. It is now reproduced as an illustration. In it we have a really excellent portrait of Bonaparte, the other *dramatis personæ* being George III., the Emperor of Austria, the King of Spain, and a Dutchman. On the wall hangs a map showing the course of the projected descent on the shores of England. King George has fallen asleep in his chair, while the other guests attempt to decamp without paying the score. The following colloquy ensues :—

Waiter. "Sirs! who will pay the reckoning?"

King of Spain. "Why, George, when he wakes up!"

Emperor of Austria. "Yes, he pays for all."

Bonaparte. "Get down; George has desired it and will pay."

The Dutchman. "I'm off."

George III. (murmurs drowsily). "I ought to have watered my wine! Oh, Pitt!"

Here we may note an early appearance of the accusation of universal bribery afterwards so lavishly used in the caricatures against England inspired by Napoleon.

In the following year Basset of the Rue St. Jacque

ublished a very elaborate caricature in sepia entitled Political Faro of 1799." Sixteen persons are seen laying cards at a table in the centre of a handsome oom, the roof of which is supported by columns. George III. is plainly discernible. He exclaims: "Honi oit qui mal y pense." A man, standing apart with a ack of gold, says: "Ich werde nicht spielen" (I will ot play). Another, looking in at the door, exclaims: Mes chers frères, vous êtes tous joués." Pitt, dealing ut sacks of gold at a side-table, says: "By Good (*sic*), he interest I owe shall pay me very good." Bonaparte ppears at the door in the centre between the pillars nd cries: "Vive la Republique! Le jeu va bientôt nir. Je suis de retour."

A detailed description of "Madame Angot," a aricature of 1806, is impossible. The idea is somewhat ne same as that of the English print "The Rival ccoucheurs."[1] "The Horoscope of England" (Martinet), ow reproduced, belongs to the first or second year of ne nineteenth century. It deals with the Past, Present, nd Future. The English are driven from Ostend, and anover is occupied without resistance by General ortier, while in the near future Bonaparte conquers ngland. The figures are supposed to represent King eorge driven from his state; the rejection of the ad-ances of England by the Maltese, and the general ampede of the younger members of the English Royal amily.[2]

The events of 18 Brumaire (November 10, 1799) and

[1] See Appendix A, 755.

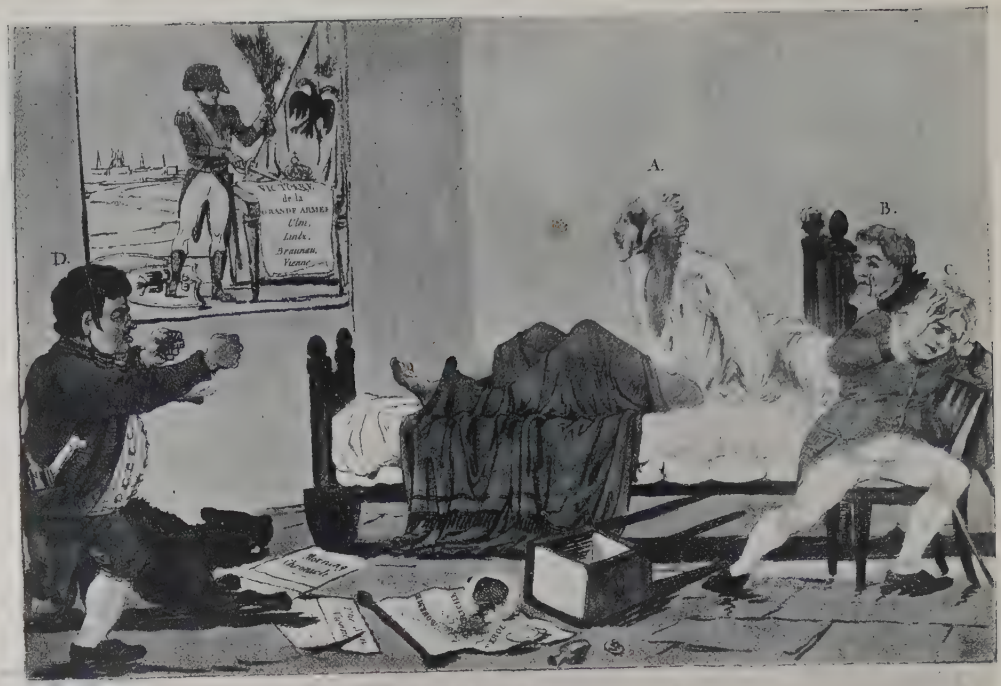
[2] The only copy of this print the writer has met with is in the private llection of M. Jules Hautecœur, the successor of Martinet.

the advent to power of the Consulate are more distinctly alluded to in " Glory's Apex " (Martinet, November 1801). To the previous year may be attributed " The Consular Trio," the French title of which is *Dans le sac*, which is reproduced in colours. The portraits of Bonaparte and his associates Cambacérès and Lebrun are very cleverly executed.[1] The projected invasion of England is clearly indicated in the punning caricature " I seize the Coasts " (Martinet, July 1802), and also in " Frog-catching Extraordinary," issued probably a little earlier by the same publisher, who now took his place in the front rank of the purveyors of satirical prints. The date of these caricatures certainly tends to show that the Treaty of Amiens was not regarded more seriously in France than in England; but a very fine print, " The Universal Toast," now reproduced in colours, testifies to a certain amount of public satisfaction being felt at the brief cessation of hostilities. Nine representatives of the Great Powers are seated round a table drinking. Bonaparte, standing up, lifts his glass for a toast, while one of the guests holds up a paper lettered, " General Peace." Above is a curtain inscribed, " Bonaparte and Peace for ever. Long live Bonaparte. Peace ! " The title of this print is given in both languages. A caricature, entitled " The Consulate," is one of the very few French prints in which the First Consul is frankly satirised. He is represented as a conjurer at a fair throwing dust into the eyes of the crowd, while an im-

[1] Towards the end of the first Empire an adaptation of this plate was published under the title " A Walk in the Palais Royal." In this caricature the places of Napoleon and Lebrun are taken by the Marquis d'Aigrefeuille and M. de la Vielleville, both of them, like Cambacérès, celebrated gourmets.

La Lanterne Magique

THE MAGIC LANTERN. 1805



REVEIL DE PITT.

PITT'S AWAKENING. 1805

perial crown is half hidden in his apron, and a soldier is writing the words "Napoleon, Emperor" on a chair-of-state. A lawyer, probably Cambacérès, is beating a big drum lettered "Bonaparte, Ier Consul, 18 Brumaire."[1]

On May 18, 1803, George III. declared war against France, and the caricaturists on both sides of the Channel resumed their task with renewed vigour. In Paris George III. became once more the favourite object of attack. In "Mind your Crown" (Martinet) the English monarch is depicted as crushed under foot by Bonaparte in uniform, who says, "Mind your Crown and the Defence of the Coasts." In "Who laughs last laughs best" (Martinet) the rulers of France and England regard each other with menacing looks. A third print, "King George Jumping," represents the English king, whose crown has fallen off, while leaping over the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. The full title runs, "King George by a standing jump over the treaties wins an invasion and loses his crown."

In "Grasp All, Lose All," another caricature of this period, we see Napoleon, sword in hand, threatening George III., who holds out a roll of paper inscribed "Elector of Hanover," saying: "You will be deprived of all, one by one." The English king replies: "Ah, I am losing Ireland." The map of Ireland falls to the ground. In the King's arms are rolls of paper labelled "Malta," "Florida," &c. As might be expected, the subject of Hanover proved irresistible, and Martinet produced a large broadside, on the evacuation of the Electo-

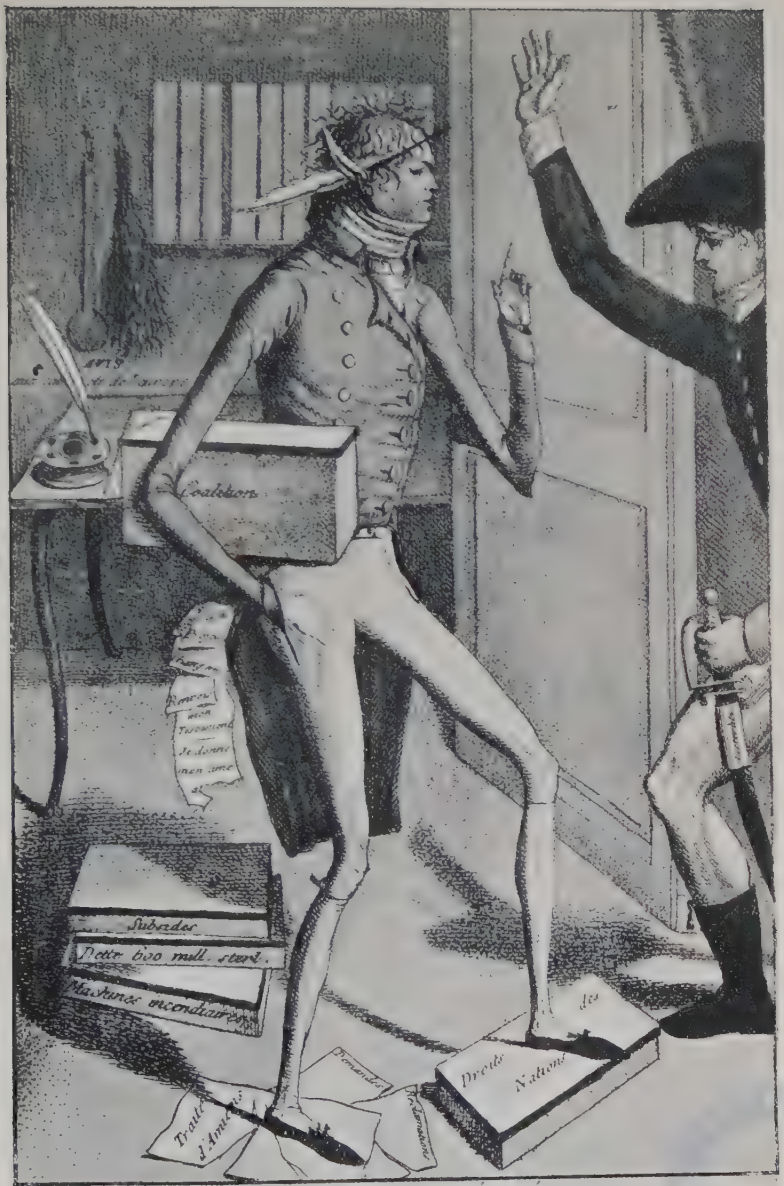
[1] The date 1802 is given in the plate, but the writer thinks it possible that it may have been issued later.

rate by the Duke of Cambridge, with a coloured caricature as the heading, entitled "The Arrival of the Duke of Cambridge at his Father's Court." According to the printed explanation, "At the mere mention of the name of Bonaparte and the French Army, the Demon Fear took possession of the Duke of Cambridge at Hanover, who arrived at the English Court out of breath, his hair on end and half dead. The Queen rushes to his assistance, handkerchief in hand, with which she wipes his brow. The King seems to say, 'Poor child, why have you run so fast?' Monsieur Addington and Lord Hawkesbury nevertheless offer their congratulations on his glorious escape. The one has brought the laurels which the other distributes. A Grenadier holds up a box of gold lettered 'Prize for Agility.' Two of the Princesses warm a bed prepared for the reception of their brother, while in the corner of the room a French prisoner laughs heartily at the scene he witnesses. Above the Duke is the green Demon of Fear, while the Cock, Symbol of Liberty, propagates in England the fame of Bonaparte." A song of four verses on "the glorious flight of the Duke of Cambridge, son of the English King, Governor of the Electorate of Hanover," to the tune of "Trouverez-vous un Parlement?" fills the rest of the pages. Its concluding verses are as follows :—

"Adieu donc, Monseigneur, adieu ;
Qu'un vent heureux vous favorise
Et vous mette à l'abri du feu,
A l'autre bord de la Tamise ;
Et pour que l'on n'attende pas
L'honneur qui marche à votre suite,
Portez vous-même à vos Etats
La nouvelle de votre fuite.

DEATH OF PITT.

PUBLIC LIBRARY



PITT, PITTEUX, DÉPITÉ

meurt de la pituite, et des suites d'un soufflet

PITT, PITIABLE AND SPITED. 1806

Pour prix d'aussi brillans efforts,
Que tout joyeux Anglais vous fête !
Que votre Parlement, en corps,
Eternise votre conquête !
Qu'il vous ombrage de lauriers,
Et d'or garnisse votre bourse,
Pour avoir, comme vos coursiers,
Remporté le prix de la course !"

In "Who had said it ?" another caricature of 1803, Napoleon is represented as pursuing George III., sword in hand, the ground being littered with broken earthenware containing rolls of paper lettered "Coalitions." Beneath is the date "Vendémiaire, An 12" (September to October 1803). In another print, "George's Indigestion," Napoleon is holding the head of the King, who vomits forth "Malta," the "Security of Nations," and the "Supremacy of the Seas." The next caricature relates to the abduction of the Duke d'Enghien, early in 1804. The French title is "Colin Court," an obvious pun on the name of Caulaincourt (afterwards Duc de Vicenza), who effected the arrest. He is depicted as a shepherd dragging a bound lamb across the bridge at Kehl. He holds in his hands a paper lettered "My gentle Master, I hold the victim." The return to power of Pitt must have greatly aggravated Napoleon. In the "March of the English Government" the great Premier is depicted riding a peacock inscribed "Credit." Behind him is the Devil held up by a Garter ribbon. The sailors are shouting "God save the King," while they pick up the gold dropped by the peacock. Pitt, looking through a telescope, says: "It will do, as sure as my name is Pitt." King George, with ass's ears, says: "Oh, what divine roast-beef!" but a cook, who is leading him, replies:

"But the sauce is too highly spiced." A second demon exhibits a map of Malta. The inspired French caricaturist can never escape from the influence of the bribery theme.

"Drake's Flight" relates to the imposture practised successfully on Sir Francis Drake, the too credulous British Minister at Munich. This is one of the most elaborate and best executed of all the French caricatures. The unfortunate diplomatist is represented with talons, carrying under his arm a despatch-box, on which are emblazoned the arms of the Drakes and their motto, "Aquila non capit muscas." His bottles of sympathetic ink and elaborate system of keys are alike treated with much humour, while a number of papers, connected with the deception of which he was the victim, protrude from his pocket.[1] Nelson was rarely lashed by the French caricaturists, but he figures as an obese sailor in the print "A Dispatch from the English Fleet." The point of the satire lies in the paper he holds in his hand, "Dispatch of the Admiralty. List of Losses. The frigate *Love* and the cutter *George*." There is some merit in the satirical print "The Magic Lantern," now reproduced, which plainly foreshadows the "Continental System." Napoleon exhibits to George III. and Pitt, through a glass placed upon bales of British goods, a map of the British Isles torn into three pieces. Beyond is seen the advance of a victorious fleet and army. On the latter's banners are the words "Liberty of the Seas," "No Commercial Treaty." An Englishman, seated on the bales of goods across which rats are running, mutters: "How lean I shall get!" A general in

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 27, and *post*, p. 48.

uniform with a telescope under his arm says: "The Plan for the defence is certain"; while a civilian rejoins, "We are lost!" In Pitt's hand is a scroll lettered, "Moral Philosophy of Pitt. Do you wish to save your country? Adopt, if necessary, means which will rivet upon you a temporary hatred." Pitt holds his fingers to his lips. The King's crown is falling off. This caricature appeared in September 1805.

There were several French caricatures on the subject of the capitulation of Ulm and the victory of Austerlitz published in Paris at the end of the year and in the early part of 1806. In "Shame and Repentance" the Austrian troops are shown as enveloped in an enormous net spread out for their capture under the astute direction of Napoleon. Below the plate are the words "80 thousand Austrians! Oh, what a fine bag!" In "The Year II." (December 1805) the French Eagle, with the Star of Success above it, vanquishes the Eagles of Russia and Austria. The sceptre, sword, and orb of the Hapsburgs lie on the ground, surrounded by plucked feathers. Below are the words, "Year II. of the French Empire."

The caricature "Advice of George III. and the Grief of M. Pitt," now reproduced, and which evidently appeared before the news of the English Premier's desperate condition reached Paris, shows that Napoleon's crusade against British commerce was resolved on long before the issue of the Berlin Decree. In this plate we see the ports of all Europe closed against England. The King and his Minister stand on a quay. A sailor approaches with a boat-load of "damaged goods," saying: "They refuse our merchandise." He holds out a paper lettered "Bankrupt." Another sailor weeps over a bale of goods

marked "British Commerce at Bay." The King says: "You have ruined England." Pitt replies: "I confess that my retirement has become necessary."

It was soon known in Paris that Pitt's days were numbered. A series of mordant caricatures dealt cruelly with England's irreparable loss. They were entitled respectively "Pitt's Dream," [1] "Pitt's Awakening," and "Pitt's Death," and appeared in the early months of 1806.[1] In "Pitt's Awakening" (now reproduced) we are shown the dying Premier raising himself in bed to look at a poster on the wall in which Napoleon points triumphantly to a list of French victories, Ulm, Lintz, Braunau, Vienna, and Austerlitz; a French spy listens at the bed-head; George III. shows signs of despair; John Bull enters with his dog and shakes his fists. On the ground lie the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Sun*, and other scraps of paper. The flag of Austria, Bohemia, and the Tyrol is torn to pieces.

Pitt loq. "Is it possible? I thought him still at Boulogne."

Spy loq. "Beware! John Bull knows all."

George loq. "Farewell to the Bavaroise (?)." [2]

John Bull. "G—— d——, here are fine bits of news!"

"Pitt's Death," given as an illustration in colours, is a fitting sequel to the "Dream" and the "Awakening."

[1] These plates are reproduced in the *Musée* as Nos. 127, 128, and 129, with a bitter attack on "the English Machiavelli," by the editor, M. Jaime, who concludes his description of them by saying, "It was the hatred of Pitt which compelled Napoleon to again take up the sword; who knows what a future of glory and happiness the peace of Europe might have brought us? Pitt did not wish it. Shame to his memory! Without him the Emperor Napoleon would not have given immortality to the rock of St. Helena."

[2] A pun on the name of the iced drink (a "Bavaroise") Pitt has upset on the floor.

According to the caricaturist, Pitt is carried down to hell by the Devil; the leading-strings snap by which he has guided a blind George III., who now falls into a chasm over a sack lettered, "Depot of the Crimes of the English Government." A Frenchman holds up a paper on which is inscribed, "Victory of Austerlitz; Continental Peace."

Pitt loq. "It is over! He triumphs and his glory kills me."

Devil loq. "Come, my dear son, your reward is at hand."

George loq. "G—— d——, I am lost!"

Frenchman loq. "Here's a feast!"

The caricature "Pitt, Pitiable, Spited," now given as an illustration, is conceived in the same spirit of rancour against the dead statesman. In it Pitt is seen holding a despatch-box under his arm inscribed, "Coalitions"; one foot rests on a case labelled "Rights of Nations," and the other on the torn "Treaty of Amiens"; other boxes are lettered "Subsidies," "Debt £600,000," and "Fire-ships." On the wall hangs a birch-rod, below which are the words "Notice to the Cabinets of Europe." From his pockets hang papers inscribed "Great Project; postponement"; and finally "My Will, I give my soul to ——." Bonaparte appears in the doorway, with one hand uplifted above Pitt's head, and with the other he grasps a sword, on the scabbard of which is inscribed the word "Austerlitz." Below runs the punning title "Pitt, Pitteux Dépité, meurt de la pituite (phlegm), et des suites d'un soufflet."

The plate "Pitt's Long Nose" relates directly to the victory of Austerlitz. Like the other three, it was published by Martinet. In it Napoleon's sword is depicted

as weighing down in the Continental scales those of Austria and Russia, while Pitt in the clouds, with ass's ears and a long nose, looks on in dismay, exclaiming: "G—— d——, *Here our guineas are lost!*" Below the print are the words: "Result of the day called that of the three Emperors, won by his Majesty Napoleon on the first anniversary of his Coronation." The inevitable bribery theme appears incidentally in "The *pied-de-nez* of Milord Pitt"; it dominates in "The Just Inequality," in which Napoleon is represented as standing on the sea-shore with an olive branch in one hand and a pair of scales in the other. In one scale are seven crowned heads; in the other King George, bags of gold and daggers. The term *dépité* (*i.e.* vexed or deprived) of Pitt is once more used.

To the summer of 1806 belongs "A Game of All Fours" (*Une partie d'Impériale*), now reproduced. Napoleon is playing a game of cards with Frederick William of Prussia, over whose shoulder leans the Emperor Alexander. Behind Napoleon stand Jerome and Louis Bonaparte. The King of Prussia says: "It is always that cursed Queen who makes me lose." Alexander says: "Believe me, you should play *that*" (pointing to the Queen). Napoleon observes: "You are badly advised." Jerome says to Louis: "Shall we begin the game again?" Louis says: "It is too late."

Other caricatures of this period bear the titles "The King of Prussia going to War," "The Anglo-Prussian Dethroned,"[1] and "The Grand Army lengthens many

[1] This plate relates to the hesitation of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel to join the Rhenish Confederation, and the uncertain attitude he assumed. See Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 84.

Noses." In the last-named the Third Coalition in general and George III. in particular are cruelly satirised. From the pocket of the English king, who is depicted with the claws and hoofs of a devil, protrudes a paper lettered "Dr. Willis's prescriptions—Cold baths and a strong dose of hellebore."

The elaborate caricature "A Scene of the Deluge occurring in the North in 1806" is minutely described by Léon Halévy in the *Musée de la Caricature*, in which it figures as Plate 210. It was suggested by Girodet's fine picture "The Deluge," which attracted considerable attention in the Salon of 1806. As M. Halévy points out, the Continental System had just been established by the Berlin Decree. Hence the position assigned to the isolated Englishman, who from a solitary rock shouts in vain: "My shops, my warehouses are lost! *Goddam!* I shall die of starvation and misery." To a tree-trunk overhanging a cliff clings the Emperor of Russia; the Queen of Prussia holds on to him by means of a crook, and the King of Prussia in uniform clutches at her skirt. The trio are suspended over the abyss. On the left is John Bull on the top of a crag rising out of the sea. In the sea is the face of the half-drowned Elector of Hesse-Cassel. Lightning strikes John Bull, who utters the cries just referred to.

Emperor of Russia loq. "This woman catches me at my weakest part and drags me down."

Queen of Prussia loq. "My prince, our only hope is in you."

King of Prussia loq. "Hold on, hold on, my wife."

Elector of Hesse loq. "Inhuman and perfidious Hessian, I have deserved my fate."

M. Helévy also describes the "Forced March of the Russian Army," in which the Muscovite troops are made to ride on a tortoise, led by a general on a cray-fish. "Treason Unmasking conducts the Queen of Naples to her Destiny" is one of those satirical plates in which the personal inspiration of Napoleon can be clearly traced. The Imperial Eagle tears the crown, along with the wig and the royal robe of purple and ermine, from Queen Caroline, who is led by a snake-headed man with a mask and dagger in hand. Behind is a table with a house of cards lettered "Naples," and a second set of cards, inscribed "Army of 10,000 English and Russians." Under the table crouches a figure of Ferdinand IV. In the background is the "Hospital for the Coalised Powers of 1806," on the balcony of which stand the "Committee of Sympathetic Ink," consisting of Sydney Smith, Drake,[1] Morus, Tailor (*sic*), and Antraigues.[2]

To the year of Tilsit belongs "A Russian Game" (*Une partie Russe*). In this print, now reproduced, we see Napoleon, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia playing billiards on a table supported by six bronze eagles. The following conversation is supposed to ensue :—

Emperor of Austria. "I missed my stroke."

Emperor of Russia. "If I've pocketed my ball it's not for want of cues."

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 27 and p. 48.

[2] See Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, p. 62 : "As soon as peace was signed at Presburg, he (Napoleon) put forth a bulletin that St. Cyr was marching on Naples to hurl from the throne that guilty woman who had so flagrantly violated all that is sacred among men. France would fight for thirty years rather than pardon her atrocious act of perfidy ; *the Queen of Naples had ceased to reign ; let her go to London and form a committee of sympathetic kin with Drake, Spencer, Smith, Taylor and Wickham.*"

King of Prussia. "I counted upon the cannon to win."

Napoleon. "This is my winning stroke."

George III. (who acts as marker). "It is he" (points to Jena).

Marker. "Who pays for the game?" [1]

"Puss in the Corner" is another instance of the use of a popular child's game for the purposes of caricature. In this case Napoleon stands on a segment of the globe, with Joseph, Jerome, Louis, and Murat, and makes them change places on the map of Europe. Below are the words "The Game of the Four Corners, or The Five Brothers." In "Hic Tempestates nuntiat, ille sedat," we have an interesting example of a caricature in medallic form, designed and executed by an admirer of Napoleon.

The French artists made some attempt to provide an antidote to the numerous Spanish and English caricatures against Napoleon and King Joseph. Hence the prints "The Quarrel in Spain," "Panic Terror of the English," and "The Monks of Madrid Removing." Below the last-named is a song to the tune of "Les Bois de Romaineville," with the refrain :—

"Exhortons l'Angleterre
À la Confession,
Pour elle cette guerre
Est l'extrême onction.
Allons, partons."

. . . . . .

There is now a prolonged interval during which no French caricatures relating to Napoleon are discoverable. One of the results of the unlucky expedition to Moscow

[1] See *ante*, "The Reckoning," vol. ii. p. 37. *Cf.* also Appendix F, 50.

in 1812 was the appearance, early in 1813, of satirical plates in which Napoleon becomes the target, first of gentle censure and then of overt ridicule. The pinch of the Continental System was felt in every household throughout France. In Paris it had brought about a rise of prices such as could only be tolerated in a time of siege or famine. It was indeed "the beginning of the end." In "The Olive Branch," the finely executed caricature now reproduced, Napoleon, in uniform, is entreated by "Peace," bearing her olive branch, to enter the beautiful garden, where men and women are dancing merrily. He prefers, however, to mount in Bellona's car, and follow her in the direction of a snow-clad plain strewn with corpses. Below are the lines :—

> "Peace offered him her olive-branch in vain ;
> He follows Ambition, which leads him to his ruin."

Things in Spain were now rapidly going from bad to worse. On June 21, 1813, the disasters culminated in the crushing defeat at Vittoria. The satire on Napoleon in "Castles in Spain" is sufficiently obvious. Talma had once more played before Napoleon and his Allies at Dresden in May 1812. He was credited with having taught Napoleon deportment in the early days of the Empire. Hence the sting in the grotesque caricature "Talma giving Napoleon a Lesson," now reproduced in colours, which appeared about this time. The Emperor was soon to find out the peculiar power of ridicule in France. The rigours of the Continental System proved powerless to prevent the introduction into France of French versions of English caricatures. In April 1813 arrived "A Court Martial assembled to

THE SHUTTLECOCK
April, 1814

judge a deserter from the Grand Army," an adaptation of George Cruikshank's print "Anticipation for Boney" with the whole of the dialogue in French.[1] The Senate might complacently sanction the raising of an army of 350,000 conscripts to repel the threatened advance of the Allies,[2] but the nation at large was heartily sick of war and bloodshed, and resented the perpetual sacrifice of her children on the altar of Napoleon's insatiable ambition. This sentiment, growing daily in intensity, explains the coarse and indescribable caricature "The Corsican Minotaur," and that of the "Feast of the Innocents," now reproduced, in which we see a gigantic figure of Napoleon, with a winged fool's cap surmounted by a butterfly, balanced on two small stools. He holds in either hand a cat-o'-nine tails, from the ends of which dangle miniature conscripts. Others are flying through the air on to mountains and flames in the background. On the left, boys, naked to the waist, go up in single file to a platform, where they are given a uniform, and so defile as soldiers on the right. The attendants are dressed as cooks, with butchers' knives. The burning question of the Conscript levies is also the *raison d'être* of the caricature entitled "The Fruitless Scarecrow," in which the condition of France is again mercilessly satirised.

On the other hand, the artists in the interests of Napoleon were not idle. The Emperor wished to stimulate public opinion against the new Coalition. This feeling doubtless prompted the publication of the print "The High Allies Starting for the War in France." The King of Prussia moves off first, musket on shoulder,

[1] See Appendix A, No. 18, "Anticipation for Boney."
[2] Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 267.

but the dog "Liége" clings to his coat-tail, while the dog "Saxony" seizes his long queue; Austria follows, with the cur "Italy" biting his boots; Russia comes next, but the ferocious dog "Poland" holds fast to his trousers.

In spite of Napoleon's heroic efforts and partial successes, victory crowns the efforts of the Allies. On October 18, 1813, Napoleon experienced the terrible reverse of Leipzic, and on November 9 again reaches St. Cloud. The caricaturists grew bolder, and we have a counterblast to "The High Allies" in "The Jay Stripped of its Borrowed Plumes," which is now reproduced and needs little explanation. Napoleon is the jay-bird. The Eagles of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden make havoc of the jay-bird's plumage. The striking caricature "Napoleon and Fate," in which Napoleon vainly stakes crown and conscripts in the game he is playing with his adversary Fate, only to be pitilessly raked up by Death the Croupier, figures as Plate 140 in the *Musée de la Caricature*, and is the subject of an eloquent essay by Jules Janin. In "He wipes big facings: he sustains great reverses," Napoleon is depicted in the act of cleansing with a cloth a gigantic lapel (facing), soiled in divers places, marked "d'Enghien," "Spain," "Moscow," and "Leipzic," which is held up by a demon-faced man. Behind is a pyramid inscribed "Kleber," at the side of which a white-robed figure with a dagger exclaims: "Vengeance!"

From the beginning of 1814 the flood of caricatures against Napoleon attained such proportions that the reader must refer for mention of many of them to Appendix D. In "The Carnival of 1814," now reproduced, Napoleon as harlequin and Cambacérès as Punchi-

Serpens Afer hic est, quem fovit
Gallia matrix;
Unde orbi et patriæ pestis
teterrima fluxit.

Serpent d'Afrique, sous les armes,
En france il vint d'abord couvrir sa nudité;
Fléau de la patrie et de l'humanité,
Le monstre n'a vécu que de sang et de larmes

nello are playing a game, the former staking gold and the latter stirring up some paste labelled "Conscription of 1808, 1809," &c. Behind Napoleon stands a one-legged, one-armed man, with papers protruding from his pocket marked "Hospital ticket."

Cambacérès loq. "It all goes, it all goes at once."

Napoleon loq. "I shall come in for it, that's certain."

Man loq. "They are chewing and I smoking. A *Louis* would save me."

"Buonaparte in the Bath" is one of the finest caricatures of this period. Its nature is fully explained by a lengthy sub-title: "The tyrant of France in a Crystal Bath turns on alternately the taps of French blood and French tears. He delights to swim (*sic*) in it. The Angel of the North flies to console France and brings her back the lilies and the olive branch of peace."

In the hour of peril Napoleon's treatment of Pius VII. was remembered, and the faithful ranged themselves amongst his enemies. In the oval symbolical print "Religion upon a Cloud," we see Napoleon, blasted by a thunderbolt, as "the foe of God and man." Humanity and the Fatherland alike applaud the act of righteous vengeance. In the lower part of the plate, kneeling mothers, holding their sons in their arms, testify their gratitude. In the distance the horizon is clearing, and in the foreground an olive tree is sprouting.

Napoleon is treated with equal severity in "Hearsay," "The End of the World," "I am on thorns," "Blowing Bubbles," "The Fall of Titan," and that grossly indecent print, "The Salutary Crisis." In the caricature "From Top to Bottom," now reproduced, Napoleon is seen on stilts, which break while he endeavours to stretch himself

from Madrid to Moscow, with a view of Fontainebleau in the background.

"The Allies' Oven"[1] is another French version of a Cruikshank print. Beneath it are the words: "The Oven of the Allies, or The Corsican ready for Baking." Before a baker's oven, inscribed "Oven of the Allies," Blücher holds Napoleon in a peel (shovel) to put him into the batch ready for baking. The treatment of the subject is the same as in the English original, but the wording is in French. In "The Press Laboratory" we are introduced to a mock chemist's shop with bottles and flasks all round labelled with the names of news sheets and recipes for articles, &c. The chemist is dipping a paper marked "Abdication" into a bottle of *elixir vitæ*. On the counter stands a pot of leeches. A few days later the blow fell, and the Emperor of France became the Emperor of Elba. In "The Fall" Napoleon is depicted on his back with his sword broken. He holds up a pair of compasses towards a map of Elba on the wall. His little son comes to him weeping. A diabolo set is seen in the left-hand bottom corner. Napoleon exclaims: "What a fall!" His son replies: "Oh, father! you have hurt yourself a great deal." The banishment of Napoleon to Elba afforded abundant employment to those artists who were willing to worship the rising sun of the Bourbons. The satire of "The Shepherd," a fine caricature published by Martinet and now reproduced, is double-edged. A typical shepherd places on the back of a wounded and bleeding sheep (France) a crow wearing the royal crown. An eagle, carrying a portion of the dripping fleece in its claws, flies towards Elba. The

[1] See "The Allied Bakers."

GRASP ALL, LOSE ALL. 1814

imperial crown falls into the sea. In "The Restitution" an Englishman is compelling the fallen Emperor to disgorge his conquests, saying: "I have laboured for a long time." The disgorged territories are being picked up by Louis XVIII., the Emperors of Austria and Russia. Cambacérès departs by the back-door ignominiously.

"The Corsican Shuttlecock" is only a French version of the English plate by George Cruikshank bearing the same title, but the French print now reproduced is described as "The Shuttlecock." Napoleon is tossed to and fro by Austrian and Prussian officers. Lucifer, peering from a flaming pit, watches the game. Below are the words: "Jealous of their sport and watching every motion, Lucifer cries, 'Gentlemen, after you, if anything remains.'" The hostility to Napoleon in "Serpens Afer" is of the bitterest kind. The Latin and French verses below can be clearly read in the reproduction. The "Tyrant Unmasked," which forms the frontispiece of the second volume of this work, is one of the finest of the French caricatures of 1814 against Napoleon. It needs, however, very little explanation. "The Kiss of Judas" refers to the meeting of Napoleon with Marshal Augereau on the road to Elba. The name of the Marshal appears on the sign over the door of a forge, "Ogro Maréchal."[1] In "Grasp All, Lose All" (No. 2), now reproduced, we have a practical application of the French saying, *Qui trop embrasse mal étreint,* to the case of the exiled Napoleon. He is taken up in the air by a double-headed eagle. From his pocket protrudes a paper lettered "Conscription"; his broken sword is falling

[1] On April 24, 1814, about noon, Napoleon met Augereau beyond Valence. This caricature was obviously the work of a sympathiser with Napoleon.

down. On a segment of the earth beneath him are nude bodies of men and horses; maps of Spain, France, Italy, and Germany, which have fallen apart, are about his feet. In his hand is a map of Elba, the one thing remaining in his grasp.

Several caricatures are devoted to Napoleon's departure for Elba, his journey thither, and his arrival in the island. They bear such titles as "The Departure and Return," "The Departure for Elba," "Voyage to Elba," and the "Arrival at Elba." The last plate has the title in French, German, and Italian. For the moment Napoleon was the common enemy of all the three countries. We see him in this caricature harassed and bent setting foot on the shore of his island home. He is carrying a broken sceptre, a telescope, and copies of the "Code Napoleon" and his latest decrees. From the ground thistles are sprouting; a fort is to the right, and in the background the sea and a vessel. The application of the story of Robinson Crusoe to Napoleon seems to have struck the caricaturists of at least three nationalities.[1] In the French version of "The Elba Robinson Crusoe," reproduced in colours, we see the exile standing on the sea-shore with a sunshade lettered "1er Ban" in his right hand and a jagged sword in his left; he wears a lion's skin, and carries a basket on his back with papers lettered "Spain," "Moscow," "Jaffa," "Vincennes," "Levy en masse," &c. On an axe behind him a vulture is perched. In the background is a black man in a soldier's coat. For the moment we will leave Napoleon to drill his mimic forces and lay plans for the next "violet season."

[1] See Appendices E, 93, and F, 41.

CHAPTER XX

NAPOLEON IN FRENCH CARICATURE (MAY 5, 1814 TO MAY 5, 1821)

"Là, se refroidissant comme un torrent de lave,
Gardé par ses vaincus, chassé de l'univers,
Ce reste d'un tyran, en séveillant esclave
N'avait fait que changer de fers.
Des trônes restaurés écoutant la fanfare
Il brillait du loin comme un phare,
Montrant l'écueil au nautonier.
Il mourut,—quand ce bruit éclata dans nos villes
Le monde respira dans les fureurs civiles,
Delivré de son prisonnier."

—Victor Hugo (March 1821).

"And now all the skulking herd of the forest, some out of insolence, others out of revenge, some, in fine, upon one pretence and some upon another, fell upon him by consent—but nothing went so near the heart of him in his distress as to find himself battered by the heel of an ass."—*Æsop's Fables.*

IT was on the afternoon of May 4, 1814, that Napoleon disembarked at Porto-Ferrajo. He devoted the next day, May 5, the third birthday of the King of Rome, to inspecting the fortifications of the town. On the same day seven years later he died on St. Helena. In the interval he had been alternately vilified and extolled in the numerous caricatures which will be briefly considered in the present chapter. As might be anticipated (except during a short interval), the lampooners of Napoleon were in a majority, for Louis XVIII. was an even more industrious inspirer of pictorial satire than the man whom he sup-

planted. At both Elba and St. Helena Napoleon was in the position of the "old and toothless lion,"[1] and as such the recipient of numerous kicks. On the occasion of his abdication, some four weeks before he reached Porto-Ferrajo, he assured Bausset that in taking this step he "yielded nothing." "The words," writes Dr. Holland Rose, "hide a world of meaning; they enclose the secret of the Hundred Days."[2] That Napoleon went into exile with the firm hope and deliberate intention of returning to France and power when the opportunity offered there can be no doubt. The insensate folly and tactless obstinacy of the Bourbons, combined with the international squabbling of the Congress at Vienna, probably gave him the chance much quicker than he had anticipated. The Bonapartist faction in France gathered strength with every fresh act of Bourbon ineptitude. The more Louis XVIII. and the returned *émigrés* tried to trample under foot the traditions of the Empire and efface all the outward and visible signs of Napoleon's military triumphs, the more popular did the cult of the "Violet"[3] become, and the belief that the "Little Corporal" would "come back with the spring" take possession of men's minds. There was a semblance of unanimity in the anti-Napoleonic caricatures of 1813 and the spring of 1814. From that time forward the creators of pictorial satire ranged themselves under the banners of the "Lily" and the "Violet," forming two distinct camps. By the time Napoleon had reached Paris (March 20, 1815), and the Reign of the Hundred Days began, the men of the "Violet" predominated. The

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 26. [2] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 433.
[3] See *post*, ch. xxi. pp. 88–99.

PAPA'S NECKTIE. 1814

fugitive Bourbon was for the moment practically deserted by his artist friends and writers of pasquinades. The converse happened in the following July, when the sun of the Bourbons again began to shine. Before Napoleon died, public opinion in France had once more begun to turn in his favour. It was an age of political "Weather-cocks" (*Girouettes*) as well as of political "Extinguishers" (*Eteignoirs*),[1] and the frequent use of the weather-cock and the extinguisher by the caricaturist had not ceased when, on the accession of Napoleon III. to the throne of France, the Napoleonic Legend achieved its practical realisation.

To the spring of 1814 belong the caricatures "The Smoker," in which a punning use is made of the verb *fumer*, which means either to smoke or fret. In his new home Napoleon is depicted in the act of smoking a long pipe at the door of a shop, and is made to say: "I no longer take snuff. *Je fume.*"

In "Sire-Conscription," a print, the full title of which is *Le Sire-conscrit dans l'Ile d'Elbe*, a punning use is also made of the word *circonscrit*, as describing Napoleon's position as an exile. The King of Rome says to him mockingly: "You have a substitute."[2] In Napoleon's cap is the number "18," which also appears on the ticket he holds in his hand. The allusion to Louis XVIII. as the substitute is obvious. The temporary disappearance of Napoleon from the arena of practical politics brought about no diminution of the vehemence of the partisans of the Bourbons. His failure to invade England was gibed at in "Nicholas

[1] See ch. xxi. *post*, pp. 98–99.

[2] See ch. xix. Caricatures on the conscriptions of 1813–14.

Philoctetes" and in "Papa's Necktie," now reproduced. The child-King of Rome is about to put the hangman's rope round the bust of his father, adorned with ass's ears. This undeniably coarse plate figures in *Le Musée de Caricature* as Plate 139. In describing it M. Léon Halévy says: "This ugly child in red boots is he who was in his day King of Rome, and who died later as Duc de Reichstadt. He holds in his hand a cord, 'Papa's Cravat.' For what purpose is it to be used? You might well think it alludes to the enslavement of France by a tyrant! But you are wrong. It means that the Emperor should be hanged, as one deserving of condign punishment. To the gibbet with Napoleon! To the gallows Wagram, Arcola, Jena, the Pyramids, and the Civil Code!" It is difficult to understand the humour [1] of "Napoleon with a long Nose," in which the nasal organs of an ant-eater are given to the exile in Elba. In "The Broken Pitcher" you have little difficulty in recognising the features of King Joseph and Cambacérès.

The commencement of 1815 was prolific in caricatures, the partisans of the Bonaparte and the Bourbons being pretty equally represented. In the "School of St. Cyr,[2] or Five Kings" we see the obese Louis kneeling humbly before the Allied Sovereigns, who are engaged in cutting up the map of Europe. Behind him are his brother and two of his advisers, one of them his confessor. Each of the sovereigns holds some piece of newly-acquired territory in his hand. A Grenadier, holding an Imperial eagle inscribed "Honour" and

[1] These words were written in 1837. Louis Philippe had lately inaugurated the "Arc de Triomphe."

[2] A pun on the word "sire."

THE IMPERIAL STRIDE
March, 1815

"Fatherland," looks on from behind a tree, saying: "In an instant we shall be there!" pointing to Napoleon on a horse surrounded by his troops, visible in the background. A similar idea is expressed in "The Balance of Europe."

The strong predisposition of the Army in favour of Napoleon is expressed in a number of caricatures, like "I wore it at Marengo," in which a stalwart Grenadier points mournfully to the tricolour cockade, for which the restored Bourbons had substituted a white one. This appears in the *Musée de la Caricature* and so does the "Anglo-French Baby haranguing his Staff, March 19, 1815," in which half-a-dozen aged and decrepit *émigré* generals are depicted as occupying a row of sedan-chairs. The Duc de Berri, addressing them, says: "I hope that you will serve me as well as you did my great grandfather;" to which they reply in chorus: "My Lord, we are only waiting for the men to carry us forward." This was not Napoleon's method of making war. The inference is obvious, and next day the Emperor arrived at the Tuileries. The precipitate and undignified departure of Louis for Ghent is made the subject of numerous plates enumerated in Appendix D, of which "Courage! Forward! March!" "Arrival, Sojourn, and Departure of an Emigré," "The Desired Departure," "A Sudden Flight," and "Sauve qui Peut," are good examples. "The Imperial Stride" is adapted from an older print in which the Empress Catherine of Russia fills the place now given to Napoleon.[1] Her feet are planted on Russia and Constantinople, while those of the Emperor rest on Elba and the coast of France. In one hand he holds a banner lettered

[1] See *Musée de la Caricature*, Plate 39.

"Honour" and "Fatherland"; in the other a sword and an olive branch. Louis XVIII., the Comte d'Artois, and the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême, and others observe his action through telescopes from a balustrade, and exclaim: "Let us pack up! Send janitors to turn him out! This man will make his way! Slap his face! Let us wage war with him!" Two members of the Royalist party are wearing "Extinguishers" as helmets. This caricature is reproduced as an illustration. "In Blind Man's Buff" the absurdities of the Bourbons are mercilessly ridiculed. There is a tariff of the prices of titles and places on the wall, but the game is suddenly interrupted by the return of Napoleon. It was not till some months later that sympathisers with Louis found time to satirise the landing of the exile on the shores of the Gulf of Juan. In the plate "Return from Elba. He brings back Liberty" (published probably in July or August), we see Napoleon in military uniform with cockaded hat riding on an animal, half-tiger and half-donkey, with a human face and a cap of Liberty, which is led with a rope by a harlequin and a horned monkey. Behind follows Death. A peacock-tailed owl flies in front, holding a paper inscribed "General Peace."

Napoleon exclaims: "What a triumph!"

Harlequin says: "It is I who guide him."

Monkey exclaims: "I will lead him to Hell."

Death adds: "I'm following him to Waterloo."

In "A Game of Bouillotte" we see King Louis, the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the King of Prussia and Wellington sitting round a table on which are cards and a shaded lamp, with heaps of counters

A GAME OF BOUILLOTTE

April, 1815

THE TWELFTH CAKE

March, 1815

lettered "Italy," "Poland," "Saxony," "Belgium," and so forth. Louis has thrown down his cards, exclaiming, "I am broken." Napoleon, placing his hand on his shoulder, says: "I am coming into the game again." Francis II., with his finger on Italy, murmurs: "I am tired of playing." Alexander, looking towards Poland, exclaims: "I am nervous about this set." The King of Prussia, indicating Saxony, cries: "I stake my all"; but Wellington, with the Belgian counters before him, says quietly: "I play." This clever caricature is reproduced. There are two versions of "I take back my Cap and leave you your *calotte*," in which the military head-gear of Napoleon is contrasted with the clerical hat of the Bourbons.

The caricature "Arrival of Nicholas Bonaparte at the Tuileries, March 20, 1815," is very hard on Napoleon, but it is very likely pre-dated, like "The Return from Elba," to which it bears a close affinity. The newly-arrived Emperor, standing before the Tuileries, presents his proclamation to five citizens, men and women. Behind him stands Death, a ragged figure eating a bone and two partisans. At his feet is a white cat. On the ground lies a box of crutches labelled "Military Rewards." *Napoleon loq.:* "I have in my pocket a twenty years' truce with the Powers. Brave National Guards and you also, my good people, you will share in these boons." *Citizens loq.:* "What a man! We can't swallow it, Nicholas! He may coax, but we are not having any! My poor friend, must you be off? Not a bit! Like him, I fear fire." *Partisans loq.:* "Long live the Emperor! Oh! the great man! We will always follow him." *Cat loq.:* "I've shown a velvet paw!"

The "Twelfth Cake" is one of the ablest of the political caricatures of this eventful year. It frankly favours Napoleon, who with his sword cuts off the portion of a huge map of Europe, which includes "France *and the Netherlands*," exclaiming: "He who counts without his host, counts twice." On the severed section of the map are traced the words: "Let him who touches it beware." The child-King of Rome, pulling his father's coat-tails, says: "Keep my part, Papa!" Talleyrand in a violet costume crouches below the table, holding up a medallion of Louis XVIII., and saying: "From having been a Bishop, I am going to become a miller. I am in a very uncomfortable position down here." The Czar exclaims mournfully, "I am afraid of the ghost"; while the Emperor of Austria rolls up the part of the chart relating to Venice and Lombardy. The other *dramatis personæ* are the King of Prussia, Bernadotte, and Murat. This caricature is given as an illustration. In "Papa's Cap," Louis XVIII. is represented as having fallen asleep in an easy-chair after a good dinner. His crown has fallen, and the King of Rome picks it up, saying: "It's father's cap."

The abundance of more or less ingenious caricatures in favour of Napoleon, which appeared at Paris between April and June 1815, raise a presumption that the Emperor must have found time to again pay attention to an administrative department in which he formerly displayed so much energy. As an example of them the puzzle-picture, "The Star of the 20th March," deserves mention. At the top is a star; above it the date 1815, and below a cross of honour. In the middle of the print is an eagle, crowned imperially with two eaglets. At

GLORIEUX RÈGNE DE 10 ANS. COMME IL GOUVERNE DEPUIS 10 ANS.

A GLORIOUS REIGN OF NINETEEN YEARS

April, 1815

THE SWING-BOAT
April, 1815

the bottom a bunch of faded lilies, the flowers drooping to the ground. Above the print, as a rebus: *L'E*, and a spider's web (*toile*); *du* 20; the god *Mars*; *a*; "*fa*" (musical notation); a nose (*nez*); a sow (*laie*); and a branch of lilies (*lys*) = L'Etoile du 20 Mars a fané les lys = The star of the 20th March has faded the lilies.[1]

Talleyrand, the most famous of all the "weather-cocks," was the subject of the fine caricature, of which the full title reads, "Mr. All-Things-to-All-Men, or The Model of Gratitude at the Congress of Vienna." Seated at a desk, at the instigation of a horned demon, who whispers to him through an ear-trumpet, he writes on a scroll, "The Powers declare that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself outside civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and perturbator of the peace of the world, he is liable to public vengeance." The old idea of the see-saw was seemingly as popular in France as in England and Germany.[2] In the caricature bearing the name *Le Tapecu* figure at one end of a see-saw the Emperors of Russia, Austria, and the King of Prussia. Louis XVIII. has fallen off from behind them and lies on the ground with a severed rope in his hand. At the other end is Napoleon, who has made them kick the beam. He holds himself down by sticking his sword into the ground. The following dialogue is supposed to ensue:—

Emperor of Russia loq. "We are stuck."
Emperor of Austria loq. "What a sorry position."
King of Prussia loq. "Is your strength exhausted?"
Louis XVIII. loq. "No, but help me up."

[1] See ch. xxi. pp. 88–89.
[2] See Appendix A, 797, and *post*, ch. xxii.

Napoleon loq. "You gentlemen don't seem to know the game."

An English officer in the distance gives a Cossack a bag of gold, saying: "Go to their assistance."

The old bribery theme was thus once more trotted out in order to discredit "John Bull" at the commencement of the Reign of a Hundred Days. In "The Elba Barber" we see another well-worn theme of pictorial satire utilised in support of Napoleon. From "The Bird is Flown" one may reasonably infer that the return of Napoleon must have caused many heart-burnings. In this print we see the Imperial Eagle flying out of its cage at Elba towards France. Here a royal hussar holds up his hand in astonishment; an *émigré* draws his sword, saying: "The cage must have been rusty." A political personage takes off his coat, crying: "Let us turn our coat again"; while Chateaubriand, carrying his "Odes to Louis the Desired," says: "I don't know whom to belaud."

In "A Glorious Reign of Nineteen Years,"[1] now reproduced, the notorious greediness of the pleasure-loving Bourbon sovereign is unfavourably contrasted with the frugal habits of Napoleon, who often worked while he ate. On one side Napoleon is shown seated at a simple lunch of an egg and a glass of claret, and signing decrees, &c., while he ate. An usher goes off with a paper lettered "Liberation of the Duc d'Angoulême." Below are the words "How he governs for the last fifteen Years." On the other, Louis XVIII. is seen at a well-laden dinner-table, a portion of which has

[1] The reign of Louis XVIII. was supposed to date from the death of Louis XVII. in the Temple.

LES TOASTS.

à NAPOLEON protecteur à NAPOLEON vengeur à NAPOLEON vainqueur à NAPOLEON pacificateur.

THE TOASTS
Spring of 1815

been cut away for the accommodation of his stomach, surfeited with poultry, patés, &c. A butler is helping him to Malmsey wine. His feet rest on papers lettered: "Oblivion of the Past," "Liberty of the Press," &c. Below, "Glorious Reign of Nineteen Years!"

In "The Swing-Boat" the caricaturist adroitly borrowed an idea from one of the most popular features of a country fair. He places in a *balançoire* covered with wire-netting the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Wellington, and the unwieldy Louis. The boat is put in motion by Napoleon, who works the cord, saying, "How I make them go." The occupants indulge in various ejaculations, the French King asking naïvely, "Why did I get in?" This caricature is reproduced. The same personages figure in "The Indigestible Pie," from which Napoleon emerges. The fat Louis, crouching below the table after the manner of Talleyrand in the "Twelfth Cake," says, "I shall have the crumbs." In "Great Distribution of Brooms in 1815" reference is made to the stampede of the *émigrés* towards the coast. A sign-post at the extreme right indicates the road to Calais, in which direction a number of *émigrés* are wending their way. An imperial Grenadier is taking brooms from a cart on which is a ticket inscribed "La Violette, Broom-merchant, Paris."[1]

"The Dark Room," like the "Twelfth Cake" and others, ridicules the proceedings at the Congress of Vienna. The Great Powers are marionettes, and it is England who pulls the strings. The operation is rudely interrupted by the sudden intrusion of Napoleon in the guise

[1] See *post*, ch. xxi.

of Harlequin. The print "The Toasts" seems to have helped both causes in succession. In the first edition, shortly after Napoleon's return the owner of the canteen is "Jolicœur, Military Pensioner," who invited his customers at the sign of "To the Blessings of Peace," to drink to the health of Napoleon, "protector, avenger, conqueror, and peacemaker." This is the version now reproduced. In the latter one the whole of the text was blotted out, and the words "Vive le Roy!" took its place. In a few of the French caricatures of the spring of 1815 an impartial attitude is assumed. In "The Journal of the Empire," a figure in Harlequin attire is supposed to represent the Parisian news-sheet during the Hundred Days.[1] While one half of the uniform indicates sympathy with Napoleon, the other shows a leaning to the Bourbons. From the mouth come cries of "Long live liberty!" "Long live the Emperor!" "Long live the King!" "Long live the strongest!" In one hand is a torch; in the other papers labelled "Lies, False News, Denunciations." Below are the words, "Journal of the Empire, or of the Debates, according to Events." "Memorable Deeds," a series of small views of events in the life of Napoleon, somewhat after the fashion of similar productions in England, may be attributed to Bourbon inspiration, and from the same source came the print "An Allegorical Subject," now reproduced, in which Napoleon is seen returning from Elba, sword in hand and trampling under foot "Public Liberty," the "Independence of Nations," and the "Rights of the People," attended by Discord, War, and

[1] See also "Reading the Papers" and "The Last Effort" (June 1815).

le père la violette chiffonnier

DERNIER EFFORT DU NAIN JAUNE
POUR SOUTENIR NICOLAS.

THE LAST EFFORT
June, 1815

Misery, and led on by Death, dancing, and playing merrily on the fiddle. "The Consultation," in which Napoleon figures as a patient and Cambacérès as a doctor, refers to the promulgation of the Additional Act or Constitutions of the Empire (April 22, 1815) establishing Chambers of Peers and Representatives, a step to which Cambacérès was opposed and a policy afterwards regretted by Napoleon. The portrait of the Emperor, who leans so far back in his chair that his crown falls off, is excellent. From his right hand drops a roll of paper lettered "Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire." Cambacérès feels his pulse as a doctor. The Emperor says: "My dear Cousin, what is your opinion of my state?" Cambacérès replies: "Sire, it cannot last; your Majesty has too bad a constitution." The words were prophetic. "Constitutional France" appeared about the same time, obviously under Bourbon auspices. Napoleon is depicted as riding on the back of the figure of France dressed in the imperial mantle and wearing a crown. One arm, lettered "Colonies," is in a sling; the other leans on a crutch; one leg ends in a wooden stump inscribed "Belgium." At her feet is an extinguisher, whence protrude chains, cannon-balls, swords, crutches, a serpent, and papers lettered "Levy of 400,000 men; forced loan." The Emperor points a sword upwards marked "Sovereignty of the Laws." *France loq.:* "Thank God! now I am strongly constituted." *Napoleon loq.:* "At last I hold our beautiful France!"

As a counterblast to these we have "The Destiny of France," in which recourse is once more had to the emile of the scales. Napoleon weighs down with his

sword a gigantic scale, on which rests the Legion of Honour. In the other is seated Louis XVIII. with his gouty feet in an immense glove, and the King of Prussia, and the Emperors of Russia and Austria. An English soldier stands beside it with sacks of gold (the old story). *Napoleon loq.:* "Get in, but you will never get out." *Louis loq.:* "Let them fight and tear each other; I remain in my glove," *i.e.* Gand (Ghent). The Englishman observes: "He regales them, while I pay."

The caricatures "The Box of Pandora" and "Departure for the Army" are both frankly anti-Napoleonic, but in "Mr. Gull and Doubting Thomas" a Grenadier makes fun of a civilian, who believes the contents of a placard on the wall which announces, on the strength of the "*Frankfort Gazette* of April 13," that 1330 thousand men are ready to cross the Rhine. In the "Liberator," "First Love," "The Empty Snuff-Box," and "The Low and Crawling Man," Napoleon's return to the ideas of 1793–95 are held up to ridicule. In "The Breakneck" we see him blindfolded and carrying a lantern on a pike, running on a mound and stumbling against objects marked "Public Opinion," "Rights of Nations," "Morals," and so forth. He has reached the brink and must shortly fall into the chasm below. The unsavoury print "The Verminous Sleeve" is directed against Napoleon's belief in the "Federates," and two kindred caricatures bear the designation of "The Rag-Picker." In the first Napoleon, dressed in white and gold and plumed hat, reaching with his sword at his crown, buried in a refuse heap, is saying to those with him: "My children, help *Père la Violette* to get back his soiled crown." A coal-heaver, carrying a sack, says: "We're

SACRIFICE DE NAPOLÉON BUONAPARTE. (18 Juin 1815)

SACRIFICE OF NAPOLEON
June, 1815

VOILÀ CE QUE-C'EST QUE D'AVOIR DU CŒUR.

THIS COMES OF HAVING A HEART

July, 1815

your black musketeers. If the enemy falls into our hands, I guess we shall not leave him white!" A scout says: "One word, Sire; the scouts of '93 will string up Royalists to the lantern." A mob of men carrying squirts say: "Sire, there's one remedy left. Our sole presence will put the enemy to flight." Below are the words: "La Violette, the scavenger, looking for his crown in the refuse of the Paris faubourgs." The second of these is reproduced. In the hand of the Emperor is a rag-picker's prong. Accompanied by Bertrand he is crossing the "Street of the Chained Tiger," the Grand Marshal receiving petitions, which he puts into a hod on Napoleon's back. The Emperor is most embarrassed by the pressing nature of the requests made to him. One man presents a petition: "I was engaged to cry 'Vive l'Empereur!' for three days, and have only been paid five francs on account. Ten francs more are due to me." A woman at a window says: "I have given twenty-five children to the Emperor; I wish to keep the twenty-sixth so as not to let my race die out." The full title of the caricature is given below it: "Père la Violette as rag-picker, or It rains Petitions." The name of "The Three Federates" is given to a print in which Napoleon, in uniform with a tricolour cockade, holds a bottle in his hand. He is arm in arm with two street roughs. One with a big hat in his hand cries: "Long live Liberty!" the other, "Long live Equality!" In "The Last Effort," the full title of which is "The Last Effort of the *Yellow Dwarf* to support Nicholas," Napoleon, in uniform, booted and spurred, staggers backwards, but is supported by the *Yellow Dwarf* (a newspaper), whose goose quill, according to the inscription on it, is at the disposal "of

the most generous." This print, now reproduced, was published only a few days before Waterloo.

Waterloo sees the end of the pro-Napoleonic caricatures. For some time to come French pictorial satire will be devoted exclusively to the vilification of the vanquished. Napoleon must pay the penalty of failure. His signature on the abdication of June 22 was scarcely dry when the agents of the Bourbons set to work on the last phase of Napoleonic caricature. In "The Sacrifice of Napoleon Buonaparte, June 18, 1815," now reproduced, we see the Emperor on horseback, with Death playing the fiddle behind him. Napoleon, pointing to a regiment of soldiers fighting, says: "I sacrifice all this to you as well." Death replies: "*You* will come to it also." In "They make for the Flame," Napoleon is represented as standing on a mound marked "Waterloo," amidst a lot of human bones; below are the broken bridge of Leipzic, the Sphinx of Egypt, the minarets of Moscow on fire, and broken columns representing Spain. In his right hand he holds up a torch, and in his left a paper lettered "Speech to the two Chambers." Around him are flying a number of human-headed bats, Garat, Manuel, Savary, Merlin, Labédoyère, Régnault, Queen Hortense, Lafayette, &c. Beneath run the words "They come and burn themselves in the candle." "The Fall of Tyranny" follows closely the same lines, and in "This comes of having a Heart" (now given as an illustration), Napoleon, his left hand on his heart, is portrayed in the act of adding certain inscriptions to the base of the Vendôme Column, close to which is a guard of foreign soldiers. He writes "Napoleon surrenders and does not die." Within

laurel wreaths are the words "He fled from Egypt, from Spain, from Moscow, from Leipzic, and from Waterloo." Below is carved the figure of a hare in full flight. In "Justice Pursuing Crime" Napoleon is trying to escape from the grasp of Justice and Revenge. Behind him on the ground lie the bodies of Moreau and Pichegru, and a chained figure of France. In the distance are seen Moscow in flames and the execution of the Duke d'Enghien. "The Schoolboy beating a Tattoo" shows us Napoleon running away from Wellington, sounding a drum. The English Commander-in-Chief says: "What the devil are you doing? You are beating a defeat (retreat?)" Napoleon replies: "Ma foi, sauve qui peut." The same idea reappears in "The Big Drum of Europe,"[1] in which the fallen warrior is portrayed as a drum slung round the neck of his English foe. The latter wields alternately a drum-stick and a birch rod. The most elaborate of all these caricatures is "The *ne plus ultra* of Cannibalism," of which a facsimile is given in colours. We have here an abundance of minute detail, but a paucity of new ideas. The burning houses of Moscow once again reappear, but in the background is Mont St. Jean. From Napoleon's pocket protrude documents lettered, "Assassination of Kleber," "Poisoning of the French wounded at Acre in Egypt." The sword is marked "Sword of despotism," and an axe behind, "Revolutionary axe." On the flag is, "In the name of liberty I keep them in irons." An eagle soars with thunderbolts, saying: "I blast all that resists me." At the bottom runs a "river of blood." "The Imperial

[1] *Cf.* Appendix A, Nos. 291 and 667. This caricature was adapted from the English prints.

Skipper," now reproduced, is conceived in the lighter vein of "The Schoolboy beating the Tattoo" and "The Big Drum of Europe." Napoleon is compelled to jump over a skipping-rope held by Blücher and Wellington. He says: "Sirs, this game displeases me. It is my last turn." They jeer at his discomfiture. Wellington bids him "Skip for the King." The old idea of the shaving-shop is revived in "The Shave," and two prints "The Shaving Day," but on this occasion it is Blücher and Wellington who officiate as barbers. The Elba Shaving-Shop is closed for ever.[1] Napoleon sits meekly on a stool, holding up the dish, from which his tormentors take a goodly supply of suds. Blücher is attending to his chin and Wellington to his head, which is quite bald. The latter's razor is marked "Palmer."

Napoleon loq. "Sirs, what razors are you using?"

Blücher and Wellington loq. "Sire, English razors and Berlin soap."

The full title of the first of the other "Shaving" caricatures is "The Shaving Day, or Lengthened Faces." Blücher, as Figaro, says derisively, "Sir, you will pay me four sous to-day instead of two, for your face is half as long again as usual." The other, now reproduced, is a well-executed aquatint, in which the rôle of the barber is discharged by Wellington, who says: "He wanted to trim our queue, but we washed his head." The lugubrious face of Napoleon is reflected in a mirror. He appears to be sharpening the razor. There is a fourth caricature of this kind entitled "Combing the Hair," in which Napoleon is made to say to Wellington: "That's so, I

[1] See "Elba Barber," Appendix D, 94, also English caricatures, Appendix A, 14, 455, &c.

II—75

am a shaven man; but when you've shaved me, although my hair is all ruffled, I don't want you to use the iron."

In "Buonaparte at Waterloo" the Emperor's personal courage is cruelly aspersed. The King of Rome, astonished at his father's cowardice, is made to say: "Papa, unstrap your cuirass and throw it away, so as to run faster"; while the soldiers shout: "The cowards abandon us." For the idea of "A Game of Rings" the designer is once more indebted to the humours of a country fair. A general, probably Wellington, is throwing rings on to stakes fixed upright in a board. He has succeeded in encircling the tallest stake. Napoleon in a basket represents a rabbit—the prize for the winner. The player says: "I shall put it in a cage."[1] The owner of the game—a comely matron personifying France—says: "The rabbit is yours." Napoleon cries: "What sauce will be used for me?" This caricature is given as an illustration.

From "The Scales of Time" and "The Cæsar of 1815" we pass to the "New Titan," now reproduced, in which Napoleon is seen bestriding a segment of the globe. He holds a severed chain in his right hand, a torch reversed and a dagger in his upraised left. Fire breaks out beneath him. One foot rests on papers lettered "Religion," "Honour," "Justice," and "Humanity," lying amidst a heap of human bones. On either side of the globe are clouds inscribed "Naught." In the centre are the words "Fire and Sword." Above is a rainbow sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis. In the distance are the Tuileries and a shape ominously named "Albion."

[1] The cage project was attributed to Blücher, but the winner of the game is Wellington.

In the "Fifth and Last Trick," Wellington in a red uniform is depicted as a conjurer standing behind a table on which there are four tumblers marked, "Egypt—nothing"; "Spain—nothing"; "Moscow—nothing"; "Leipzic—nothing." He holds in his hand a fifth marked "Waterloo—disappear!" and is about to clap it down over a lilliputian Napoleon who is running across the table. In the background is the sea with St. Helena and the *Bellerophon*.

Napoleon surrenders to Captain Maitland, and soon after appears the caricature, now reproduced, "Additional Act (added) to the Follies of the Hero, or The Fall of the great little Man." In it we see Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon* standing before three English soldiers and sailors. He is bareheaded and in tears, with his handkerchief in his hand. Papers protrude from his pocket lettered "The House of Austria has ceased to reign," "I am the God of War," "The Napoleonic dynasty has reigned and will reign over Spain." *Englishman loq.:* "That is what we expected. You can see he is not French. G— d—! how small he is!" *Napoleon loq.:* "Captain, the grace I ask you is *my life*."

In "Street Cleaning" two scavengers pick up Napoleon unceremoniously from a heap of rubbish, and are about to throw him into their cart. On the ground is a utensil filled with violets. Below are the words "General cleaning up for the King's return." One idea dominates both "The Imperial Dance" and "The Chained Tiger." In the latter, reproduced as an illustration, we see Napoleon with his hat on, and, having the body of a tiger, standing up on his hind-paws. A chain round his neck is held by an English officer with

THE NEW TITAN
July, 1815

AN ADDITIONAL ACT
July, 1815

a whip, who says to him, "Jump for the King!" The ex-Emperor replies: "You demons, leave me alone!" A Russian and a Prussian soldier stand before him playing a flute and a tambourine and say: "No! you must dance and leap. We are paid to make you dance!" [1] In another print, "Diabolo," Napoleon serves Wellington for a spool. Thrown high in the air, he loses his laurel crown. Below are the words "God be praised! the Devil has taken him."

"Hold Him Fast," now reproduced, indicates with sufficient clearness the feeling of France towards her idol immediately after Waterloo. Wellington has thrown him to the ground, and, pressing his knee into his back, threatens him with his sword. Napoleon struggles to free himself saying, "Once more, let me go!" The coarseness of "Puss in the Corner—Bon-a-part," is equalled by the malignant cruelty and injustice of "The Deserter" and "The Last Fall." There is no sign of mercy in "The Last Home," "Justice and Revenge," "The Mirror of Truth," "The Ogre Captured," or "Light of the Nineteenth Century." In "The Guard Dies," Napoleon's behaviour at Waterloo is again derided, and in the "Descent in England," now reproduced, ridicule is cast on the way in which the

[1] The dance theme is utilised in another print, "Departure of the Little Corporals," on which the *dramatis personæ* are Napoleon, the King of Rome, and Cambacérès. The following conversation is supposed to take place between them: *Napoleon loq.:* "My last folly is to beat the retreat to the Islands." *The King of Rome loq.:* "Papa, you have forgotten the walse." *Cambacérès loq.:* "Sire, I am playing the follies of Spain, accompanied by the Russian. Then I will give you a German dance, and lastly an English one." A third caricature is called "The English Dance." In this Napoleon is dancing on a stage, to the music of an orchestra, the leader of which wears the British uniform. Below are the words, "Nicholas dancing the *Anglaise*."

dreams of 1804–5 were realised in 1815. Napoleon, manacled, with lips set and haggard eyes, is made to land on English soil from a boat. A British soldier points out the road, and seems about to goad him on with his sword. Below are the words "At last Bonaparte carries out his projected descent on England." An alleged attempt of the wife of Bertrand to commit suicide on board the *Bellerophon* was satirised in a print entitled "The Despair of Madame Bertrand."

In "The Menagerie," the full title of which is "The Menagerie of the Imperial Street," we have a French version of one of the most popular forms of English anti-Napoleonic caricature.[1] In the middle of the print is Napoleon depicted as a chained tiger with a bleeding mouth; his collar is marked "Russian collar," and his belt "English belt." On the left is a cat in a black hat with a white feather and a white collarette labelled "Joseph." Below is a hog coming out of a den, lettered "Cambacérès," snapping at a kind of dog marked "D'Aigrefeuille." A donkey's head in lace bands appears on the right and is named "Hulin." At the top is a red bird of Paradise near an open book inscribed "Charge of the Archbishop of Paris," and on the second page, "For and against Comedy." Behind the bird is the name Cardinal Maury. On the left the showman stands pointing to the tiger and says: "Come in, Sirs, come in and see my curious collection. You will notice No. 1. A Tiger of very large size and great ferocity, which escaped from the island of Corsica, millions of men became its prey; but after losing its strength in the plains of Champagne, it allowed itself to be caught in

[1] See vol. i. pp. 358 and 362; vol. ii. pp. 3 and 135.

II—79

HOLD HIM FAST
July, 1815

the forest of Fontainebleau. You may come near it, as it no longer can harm you. Look at No. 2, the Matou, a Spanish cat, with the tail of a hare, whose cowardice he has. You will see No. 3, a small satyr, brought from the mountains of Westphalia. "In the lower row you will see a hog with very curious tastes; he lives on good terms with a farmyard dog, loving like him all good cheer and eating from the same platter. Then you will see a large black ape, conjurer and comedian, which formerly was fond of the tiger. He was for long the orator of the troupe, but he has lost his voice; you will know him by his threadbare tail. I will then show you a large number of animals remarkable for their veracity, cunning, &c., and she-cats most diverting with all manner of caresses, somersaults, and tricks; many cuckoos and parrots that eat out of your hand and before moulting used to repeat docilely all that was said to them. A big bird of Paradise, a great preacher."

The exercises of the clever ass, surnamed Bouffe-la-balle,[1] are interrupted on account of a violent contusion received on his jaw.

In "The Ruined Wax-work Maker" full advantage is once again taken of the punning use of the words "Sire" and "Cire." The whole of Napoleon's crowned heads are described as "Cires." Napoleon soliloquises: "I am ruined! All is melted! And I had so well paid for these rooms in advance, believing them to be wholesome!" Below are the words, "The Imperial Family

[1] Monsieur Georges Cain informs me that this nickname was given to General Hullin, who was implicated in the death of the Duc d'Enghien. He was ordered by the Proclamation of July 21 to leave Paris in three days and to proceed to a place appointed by the police.

for two sols (*sous*)." "The Last Spring" deals with the transfer of Napoleon from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. Between the two is a long-boat, *The Tonnant*.[1] Bertrand in a red check uniform, carrying a basket containing a crown, a sceptre, and the imperial eagle, clinging head downwards to the handle, offers the Emperor a ladder. The latter, wearing a white costume and imperial mantle, rejects it and springs, flag in hand, from the deck of one ship to that of the other. The date of the print "Buonaparte's Testament" is uncertain. Napoleon is sitting in his cabin on board the *Northumberland*, his swing-bed in the background. He is supposed to be engaged in writing his will, attired in a green dressing-gown and tricolour cap. He is surrounded by British soldiers, some of whom are lying in hammocks. The document runs as follows :—

"In the name of him to whom it belongs. . . .

"I do not bequeath my soul, for I am not sure I possess one. But I bequeath my patrimony, such as it was in 1789, to my family to be shared equally. I bequeath my beetroot sugar to consumptives. I bequeath my federates to the good City of Paris. I bequeath my probity to the galley-slaves, my word of honour to Ney, my proclamations to Carnot, my humanity to the Jacobins, the example of my flights to generals in danger, my pistols to those who know how to use them, the insects I brought back from Egypt to my chamberlains, my 'Champ de Mai' attire to the letters out of domino-costumes for the Carnival, my mistakes in spelling to the Institute, and finally I bequeath the honour of speaking my eulogy to Mr. E., and I give my skeleton to the School of Medicine."

[1] The name of Lord Dundonald's ship.

THE DESCENT

August, 1815

One of the bitterest of French caricatures directed against the fallen and banished Emperor bears the lengthy title of "The Red Man stops the last efforts of the Tyrant, and Death shows him the only way to escape from exile." Napoleon stands disconsolate on a sea-girt rock, while a serpent entwines itself round the tricolour surmounted by a monkey.

There is a timid protest against the avalanche of caricatures levelled at the exiled Napoleon in "The Ass's Kick,"[1] but it failed to soften the hearts of the authors of "France Avenged" and "General Jacob." In the last-named print Napoleon is depicted as an ape standing on the back of a chair on a ship's deck, holding in his hand a razor. He exclaims: "What luck, this razor won't cut!" Below are the words "General Jacot (Napoleon) having sworn he would not be taken alive to St. Helena decides at last to cut his throat." Before the year of Waterloo expires a series of "Greasy Pole"[2] caricatures indicate another change in public opinion. Napoleon from St. Helena looks on in amusement at the efforts of the Allied Sovereigns to keep Louis XVIII. in his place near the top of the pole surmounted by the crown of France. The perspiring monarch cries out: "I have got it, my friends. Hold me fast, for my head swims." The King of Rome, clutching the coat-tails of the Austrian Emperor, says: "If you should let them go, how I should laugh." In the English version Napoleon is made to exclaim: "I have accomplished it twice unaided." In "The New

[1] See *ante*, p. 29.

[2] *Le Mât de Cocagne*. See also English caricatures, Appendix A, 550 and 566.

Robinson Crusoe in the Ile of St. Helena"[1] we once more see Napoleon dressed in the skins of Defoe's famous hero. His umbrella, surmounted by a golden eagle, lies on the ground beside him, but another eagle encircles his head and seems to speak to him.

Of all the French caricatures against Napoleon the most elaborate is the aquatint which parodies Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment." It is reproduced in exact facsimile. It is easy to recognise, amongst the forty-nine finished figures which it contains, nearly all the principal personages of the Imperial Court, who are tumbled pell-mell out of "Charon's Wherry," on to the further shore of the Styx, where they are welcomed by Robespierre, Marat, and others. A contemporary key to assist in this identification was found by the writer in Paris. It is as follows:—

"Key to Charon's Wherry

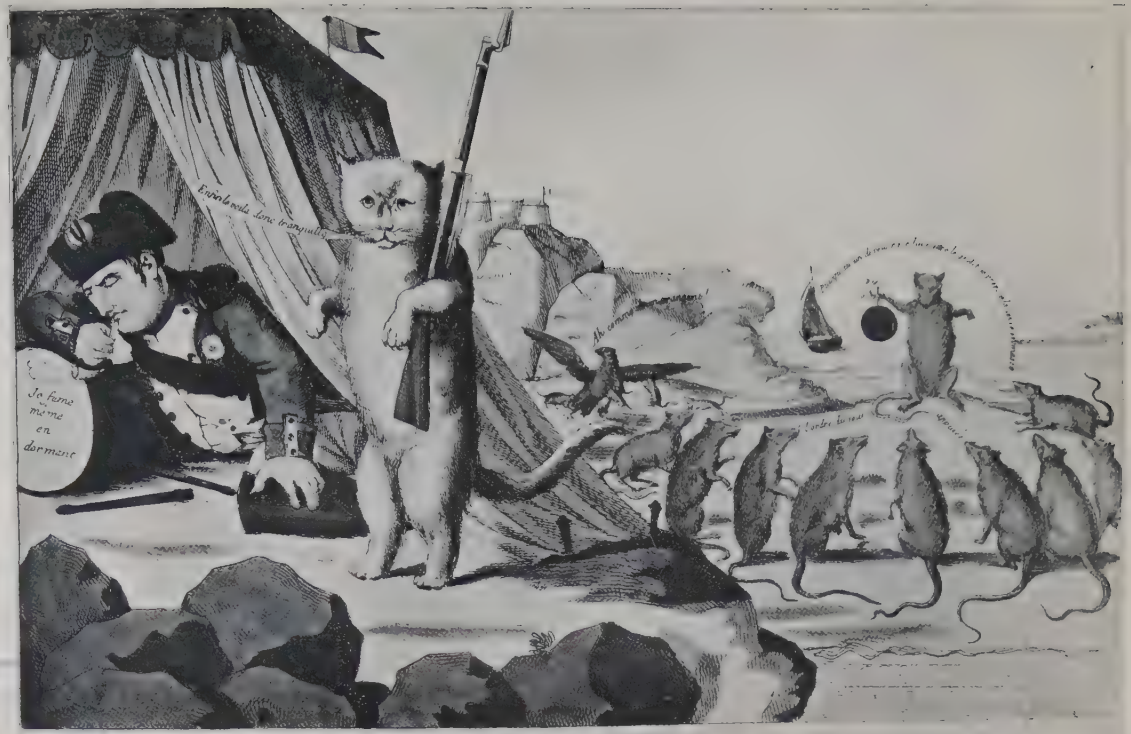
"1. Caron. 2. De—t. 3. Drouet d'Erlon. 4. Carnot. 5. Ney. 6. Méhée de la Touche. 7. Am—h. 8. Caroline Bonaparte. 9. Elise Bonaparte. 10. Merlin de Douai. 11. Barrère. 12. Félix Lepelletier. 13. Réal. 14. Br—r. 15. Hortense Bonaparte. 16. Cardinal Fesch. 17. Regnier de St. J. d'Angeli. 18. Napoléon Bonaparte. 19. Lelisle. 20. David. 21. Bory St. Vincent. 22. François Louvet. 23. Hullin. 24. Rovigo (Savary). 25. Lefèbre Desnouettes. 26. Joseph. 27. Letitia. 28. Jerôme. 29. Murat. 30. Lucien. 31. Lafayette. 32. Sa—e. 33. Mo— D—t. 34. Grouchy. 35. Général Clausel. 36. Bertrand. 37. Pauline. 38. Cambacérès. 39. Harel. 40. Cambronne. 41. Labédoyère. 42. Laplace. 43. Drouet. 44. Gagny. 45. Couton. 46. Robespierre. 47. Marat. 48. Carrier. 49. Babeuf.

There are a number of other caricatures of this period scarcely a whit less severe on the fallen Emperor. In

[1] See *ante*, ch. xix. p. 56.

CHARON'S WHERRY

After Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment"



THE RATS WON'T HAVE HIM. 1816

"The Dream" he lies prone on a pile of skulls and human bones, confronted by a vision of the Duc d'Enghien in a cloud of glory; in "Nicholas Tiger-Heart" Napoleon as the figure of Death is playing a barrel-organ inscribed "Airs of the Marseillaise," while the leading idea of "Nasal Pressure—the Oath of Ney" is too disgusting for description. Almost terrible is the picture of "The Prometheus of St. Helena." Napoleon is chained hand and foot to a rock, while a starved vulture tears out his heart. A candlestick is inscribed "Torch of Prometheus," but the flame of the candle of "Glory" is quenched for ever by the extinguisher of Waterloo.

The flood of caricatures diminishes from the beginning of 1816, and it dwindles gradually until the final fall of the curtain in 1821. We have in succession "The Repentant Smoker," a fresh version of the Elban "*Je fume*" and "The Force of Habit," in which Napoleon is depicted as going his rounds at St. Helena examining the "fortifications," which consist of rat-traps. He is followed by a monkey (Bertrand) and a cat (Raton). Two snakes are climbing a rock in the background, over which rats are coursing and on the top of which a rat is working a semaphore. Below are the words "The force of habit, or The greatest Captain in the world visiting with Bertrand and Raton the fortifications of St. Helena." Rats and cats also figure prominently in "The Triumphal Entry" and "The Bill-Poster," in which Napoleon is seen running away pursued by rats dressed as soldiers. He carries a ladder, while his paste-pot and brush are held by a cat, bearing the tricolour flag. On the pot are the words "Death to the rats." Napoleon says: "Ah, I see I am no longer in France.

I shall not reduce my new subjects." The rats reply: "If you found flatterers amongst the French, you won't find any here. I say, little corporal, our disobedience takes you aback!" Below are the words "Father Violet, bill-poster at St. Helena, or The Missed Conscription." The levies of 1813–14 and 1815 were evidently still remembered and unforgiven. "The Great Sinner" (Fisherman) is another example of the frequent use of the pun in French caricature. Napoleon is fishing in a sea of blood, and has hooked the dead face of the Duc d'Enghien, which appears above the water, a wound being clearly visible in the forehead. Several rats surround the feet of the fisherman. The pun on the verb *fumer* (to smoke or fret) reappears in "The Rats won't have him," now reproduced. An eagle is attacked and plucked by rats. A large rat holding a bell addresses his companions drawn up in a line before him. Napoleon is sleeping in a tent close by, his head on a drum lettered "I smoke even while I am asleep." At his feet a cat is doing sentry-guard. The eagle calls out: "What a drubbing they are giving us!" The rats in chorus exclaim: "Since no one dares to put the bell on him, I propose a general rising." To which is added the note, "Order of the Day. Carried." The cat says: "At last he is quiet." In "The Cheese of St. Helena" we see Napoleon gnawing at what appears to be a millstone, although lettered "Cheese of St. Helena." He exclaims: "I am eating a famous cheese." This caricature of 1816 is also reproduced. In "The Proposed Constitution" there are more rats and more sarcasm about the Champ de Mai. Napoleon is supposed to repeat the ceremony for their benefit. They fail to

JE MANGE UN FAMEUX FROMAGE.

THE CHEESE OF ST. HELENA. 1816

appreciate the constitution he proposes to give them. In "Cæsar in his Palace" (1817) Napoleon is depicted as a dog chained up in a kennel. Sir Hudson Lowe stands over him with a whip. In front of him is a dish inscribed "Food—worries, cares, remorse," and a trough lettered "Drink—bitterness." Lowe says: "Wretch, if you escape I'll dust your hide for you!" In "The Foot of the Hermit" the profile of Napoleon's face is clearly visible to the right. This, coupled with Langlois' "Ass's Kick,"[1] shows that Napoleon had still a few sympathisers in France. Some time in 1820, or early in 1821, appeared the print "Design for a Tomb." Napoleon is depicted as half-lying on a tombstone. On the stone are the words :—

"Passers-by, do not bewail my fate;
If I had lived, you would be dead."

He holds a sword inscribed "Spain," "Moscow," "Leipzic," and "Waterloo."

In the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is a curious broadside which must have been published shortly after the news of Napoleon's death reached Paris. It is entitled "Details of the Evils that the Emperor Napoleon has undergone during his captivity at St. Helena." On one side is an account of Napoleon's real or supposed sufferings; on the other is the picture of a monster, half-man, half-beast, with the word "Infamy" on the hump of his back, "Cholera" on his scarf, and on his coat a skull and cross-bones. The following explanatory text is given :—

"Other details of a strange animal which swam from St. Helena to Plymouth, and was caught by Lord Castle-

[1] See ch. xxvii.

reagh some time after the Emperor's death. This unique monster has the head of a tiger, the ears of an ass, the tongue of a viper, the eye of a raven, the beak and talons of a vulture, and the tail of a siren. This ferocious animal all but devoured Napoleon at St. Helena, had the hero not turned his eyes away at the approach of the monster, which inspired him with nothing but loathing. The naturalists of all nations have declared it to be amphibious and carnivorous, and presume that its mere aspect can give the cholera to any one. This freak died some time ago, and several artists propose to purchase its body, and to dissect it in the presence of the population of Paris, and after that to stuff it, and, in order that all men may enjoy the hideous spectacle, to take it on show all over the world. The price of seats will be graduated and within reach of all. So be it!"

In 1821 there appeared in Paris, about the same time as the "Mysterious Monster" broadside, a little book entitled *L'Homme au Petit Chapeau*. There is a portrait of Napoleon on the title-page, but the face and features are wanting. There can, however, be no doubt as to its identity. Below are the lines :—

> "Tout le mal que l'on en dit
> Prouve le bien que l'on pense."

It contains a bold defence of Napoleon and his policy. "France must never forget," says the writer, "that during fifteen years France counted her days by her victories. Let her remember the 'Small hat' as the plume of a prince which rallied the brave amongst the phalanxes of the enemy." Before the year was out the "Calendrier Napoléon," made its appearance. To each of the 365 days was assigned some important occurrence

PIED DE L'ERMITE DE L'ILE SAINTE HÉLÈNE

in his life. On January 1, 1800, he invited England to make peace; on December 31, 1808, he sent back to Paris the sword of Francis I. captured at Madrid. On the first page of the Napoleonic calendar are the words: "Il est consolant pour nous que Napoléon ait fait des fautes, car autrement ce n'eût point été un bien. Ou bien, si avec tant de génie, tant de gloire, et une vertu constante, Napoléon eût été de la race commune de mortels, nous aurions tous à rougir d'être si petits auprès d'un de nos semblables prodigieusement grand."

CHAPTER XXI

NAPOLEON IN FRENCH CARICATURE—SATIRICAL PRINTS RELATING TO PÈRE LA VIOLETTE (FATHER LA VIOLETTE); L'ORDRE DES GIROUETTES (THE ORDER OF THE WEATHERCOCKS), AND L'ORDRE DES ÉTEIGNOIRS (THE ORDER OF THE EXTINGUISHERS)

"Pauvres et modestes fleurs, pourquoi jouez vous ce triste rôle dans no discordes?"—*Léon Halévy.*

"Il change à tout moment d'Esprit comme de mode,
Il tourne au moindre vent, il tombe au moindre choc,
Aujourd'hui dans un casque, et demain dans un froc."
—BOILEAU, *Sat.* viii.

SO extensive was the use made of the Lily and th Violet (the one the badge of the Bourbons an the other that of the Bonapartes), as well as o the Weathercock and the Extinguisher, symbol common to both parties, by the French caricaturists o 1814–15, that the writer has found it expedient to devot a separate chapter to the subject. For doing this a pre cedent was created by M. L. Halévy in the *Musée de l Caricature*, and Champfleury in the fourth volume of hi History. The first-named writer compares the popu larity of the lily with the *émigrés* and that of the viole with the Imperialists during the political crises of thes two eventful years, to the "massacres once committe in England in the name of the red and white roses. "Après le retour de l'empereur au printemps de 1815, he writes, "après tant de sang fut inutilement vers

pour la France à Waterloo, le sang coulait encore dans nos jardins, dans nos promenades, dans tous nos lieux publics, à la seule vue de la fleur qui était pour les uns un muet souvenir, une sorte de ralliement sacré, pour les autres une insulte, un objet de haine et de vengeance." Napoleon is supposed to have indicated "the violet season," as the approximate time when his return might be looked for, while walking in one of the shady avenues of Malmaison. Be this as it may, the "modest flower," after the lapse of ninety years, still finds favour in the eyes of his descendants and their adherents. The cult of the violet has survived the downfall of the Second Empire. A wreath of violets is always to be found on the tombs of Napoleon III. and his son at Farnborough; violets will predominate in the bouquet carried by the bride when the great nephew of Napoleon weds the great granddaughter of Louis Philippe!

In the summer of 1814 very little was heard of the violet, for the victory of the lily was complete. In the "Triumph of the Lilies" we see the figure of France, crowned and draped in an ermine robe, sprinkled with lilies. She advances with a fleur-de-lis in her hand and drives away the bees from an overturned hive. Behind her is a bust of Louis XVIII. on a pedestal, and at her feet lie the imperial mantle with a broken sceptre and a broken plaque of the banished Napoleon. Below are the words: "The bee was a wicked hornet, which devoured the lilies, but France by giving us a Louis will work wonders, for it is by resuming her lilies that she will drive the bees away." As early as May 10, 1814, within a week of Napoleon's arrival at Elba, a puzzle-picture "The Lilies" (*Les Lis*) made its appearance, "dedicated

to the friends of Louis XVIII." On a spray of flowers were easily discernible the profiles of the King, the Comte d'Artois, and the Duchesse d'Angoulême.

It was not to last. Early in the following year the wearers of the violet were quite as numerous as the wearers of the lily. Before the end of March 1815 the lilies had disappeared and the pro-Napoleonic caricaturists were once more hard at work. In "The Lily and the Violet" a Grenadier of the Imperial Guard is depicted kneeling on the ground in the act of picking a violet at the foot of a laurel shrub. Behind him is a pot of lilies, thrown over and neglected. Below are the words: "I am delighted at the defeat of this lily. The *élite* of soldiers prefer to it the simple violet growing in the shade of the laurels." We next have "The Spring, or The Return of the Violet." The turkeys are taking to flight, treading down the lilies. The violets are now in full bloom. The sun is rising above the sea, and Napoleon is represented by an eagle holding in its beak the Legion of Honour inscribed "Aux Braves."

Another print is entitled "The Spring of 1815." Out of a bee-hive swarm bees; on a laurel branch above it sits an eagle. Two officers are plucking violets and feeding the bees with them. In the middle stands a peasant woman. On the right two *émigrés* and an ecclesiastic are watering a faded tiger-lily; a chasseur is looking at them. The *Peasant Woman* says: "Water away! For twenty-five years the French soil has been no good for lilies." The *Ecclesiastic* exclaims: "No more tithes! It is finished." The *Emigrés* in chorus cry: "And feudal rights? They are dead!" The *Chasseur* observes: "They can have gilly-flowers

THE SPRING AND THE RETURN OF THE VIOLET
April, 1815

instead." The *Eagle* cries: "I return to you. France shall still be the greatest nation on earth!"

M. Halévy used as the text for his essay[1] the somewhat coarse caricature "Long live Father La Violette," the satire of which cuts both ways. A Paris ruffian ("a cut-throat *fédéré*") seizes a bourgeois unceremoniously by the throat, saying, "Long live Father la Violette, or I cut your throat."

There were, of course, a large number of "puzzle-pictures," in which the profiles of Napoleon, Marie Louise, and the King of Rome were portrayed in bouquets of violets. One of these bears the inscription "Violets of March 20, 1815," the date of Napoleon's arrival at the Tuileries.

The most striking print of this class is undoubtedly "The Meteor of the Month of March," published in April 1815, in which the features of Napoleon can be detected amidst the flashes of forked lightning, which, proceeding from a triumphant eagle, strike dismay into the hearts of five English soldiers encamped on a shore, where the violets are blooming and the lilies drooping and faded. They each utter cries of terror: "Heavens, he has escaped!" "What a blow!" "I shudder," "We are lost," "I can see nothing more."

These puzzle-prints, sold in Paris by thousands, were soon reproduced in England, where George Cruikshank lost no time in turning them into ridicule. Nine days after the funeral of Gillray, and six before Waterloo, Mrs. Humphrey published "The Pedigree of Corporal Violet," now reproduced, to which was appended the following explanatory text: "First as a Consular Toad-stool rising from a Corsican Dunghill; then changing

[1] *Musée de la Caricature*, Plate 114.

to an Imperial Sunflower, from that to an Elba fungus, and lastly to a bunch of Violets, which are so disposed as to represent a whole length profile of Bonaparte, with a bust of Marie Louise, and her son the Prince of Parma. Blücher, Wellington, and the Emperor of Russia advance towards this horticultural curiosity armed with a spade, pick-axe. &c., being cheered on to action by the fugitive French King."

Other publishers, like the Wallaces of Skinner Street, London, and the Marine Library, Bournemouth, Smeeton of St. Martin's Lane, Smith of King Street, Seven Dials, and Pratt of Broad Street, Golden Square, seem to have taken the matter seriously, and reproduced the pro-Napoleonic puzzle profiles, almost without alteration. The following hand-bill speaks for itself :—

CORPORAL VIOLETTE

Just received from Paris

SEVERAL HUNDRED COPIES

of

the above celebrated Print

Called by the admirers of Buonaparte

CORPORAL VIOLETTE ! !

in which are

exact likenesses of that wonderful man

BUONAPARTE

Maria Louisa

and

The King of Rome

Price One Shilling

11—92

By George Cruikshank, June 9, 1815

"The simplicity of the above print could not cause the smallest suspicion of disloyalty to the King of France, although it is well known that thousands of his subjects, and the military to a man, even carried one about their person, and their *favourite* toast was 'To CORPORAL VIOLETTE!!!'"

Mr. Wallace provided his customers with the following explanation of "Corporal Violette": "Bonaparte having on his departure for the Island of Elba promised his confidential friends to return in the violet season, his adherents adopted the above simple flower as a rallying signal. Corporal Violet became their favourite toast, and each was distinguished by a gold ring with a violet in enamel and the motto: *Il reparaîtra au printemps* (He will reappear in the Spring). As soon as it became generally known that he had landed at Fréjus, a multitude of the women of Paris were seen with baskets full of these flowers, which were purchased and worn by his friends, without exciting the least suspicion. It was customary on meeting any one thus decorated to ask, '*Aimez-vous la violette?*' (Do you like the violet?) When if they answered '*Oui*' (Yes), it was certain the party was not a confederate. But if the reply was '*Eh bien*' (Well?) they recognised an adherent and completed the sentence, '*Elle reparaîtra au printemps.*' The original print, of which the above is a correct copy, was also published in Paris with the same symbolical meaning, in which may be traced the profiles of Buonaparte and Marie Louise watching over their infant child."

To Mr. Pratt's version of "Corporal Violet" is appended the following note: "This print, which appears to consist simply of that beautiful flower the violet,

contains profiles of the Emperor Napoleon, Marie Louise, and the young King of Rome ; the first under the green leaf on the right, the second opposite under the second violet, and the third one on the right of the centrical stem near the lower violets. Buonaparte on abdicating the throne of France assured his partisans he would return to them in the *violet season*. An excess of pious bigotry is not likely to prove a source of complaint against Napoleon Buonaparte, yet he is, evidently, attached to a species of prediction such as the above, and this is not the only instance on record of his prophecies being verified. Every one is aware that the secret of his returning to France was well known to his numerous adherents, and by them (particularly the military) a true violet flower was constantly worn at the breast and a copy of the above print about their person. This elegant little flower was by no means calculated to create suspicion in the Bourbons or their friends, and the fondness of the French people for flowers is so proverbial. Their favourite word was 'Corporal Violette,' the name given to Buonaparte and also to the print. *N.B.*—As this curious print is worthy the attention of the promoters of ingenuity, sufficient space is left for framing."

Napoleon must have still had some sympathisers in Germany early in 1815, for S. H. Ankele published at Reutlinger, in Wurtemberg, the picture of a pot of violets, in which the faces of Napoleon, Marie Louise, and the King of Rome are clearly discernible amongst the stalks and blossoms. There is, as far as the writer is aware, no Italian or Spanish version of these plates, and the Dutch caricaturist gave "Papa Violet" no quarter either before or after Waterloo.

THE BUNCH OF VIOLETS
Autumn of 1815

Before the autumn came the dream of the violet was over, and the "modest flower" was made the subject of countless gibes. In the French caricature "The Bunch of Violets," now reproduced, an English soldier is seen in the act of bringing Napoleon, half hidden in a mass of gigantic violets, on shore from the *Northumberland*. Joseph Bonaparte is crouching amongst the rocks of St. Helena. A rat is running along the quay. In Napoleon's hat is a stoat, from the mouth of which comes the words: "What a smell of violets." Napoleon says: "You are hiding, Joseph; you smell the violets no more." Joseph replies: "My brother, the March violet is faded." The soldier cries: "G——d——! what a jump!" And here we must leave the "modest flower."

Early in 1815 there appeared in Paris a facetious book entitled *The Dictionary of Weathercocks*, in which miniature vanes were appended to the names of the various political personages mentioned in it to indicate the number of changes of opinion they had undergone since the Revolution. Hence the expression "Order of the Weathercocks," of which Talleyrand should assuredly have been the Grand Master, in virtue of the seven marks placed against his name as "*le plus versatile des Girouettes*." A popular caricature of the period, published in the *Yellow Dwarf*, satirised him as the "Man with Six Heads, or Mr. All Things to All Men." In one hand he holds an episcopal crozier; in the other a toy windmill. From his different mouths come the cries of "Vive les Notables!" "Vive la Liberté!" "Vive le 1er Consul!" "Vive l'Empereur!" and "Vive le Roi!" Talleyrand lived long enough to be caricatured by Charles

Philipon and Honoré Daumier. His club-foot proved as useful to them as it did to the satirists of the Consulate and the Empire.[1] Of the "weathercock" caricatures the best is that known as "The Provisional Government." It belongs to the spring of 1814. It represents the Provisional Government[2] sitting in council. Talleyrand occupies the place of honour. He has already donned the blue cordon and the fleur de lys. In his plumed hat are five wind-indicators; two of his colleagues have three each, one two and Beurnonville one only. Dalberg is dressed half in French and half in Austrian attire, and Beurnonville wears the cockades of both parties. Talleyrand is signing the decrees of April 2, in which the deposition of Napoleon was pronounced. Before the portly Abbé de Montesquiou lies the order for the suppression of all armorial bearings and emblems recalling the Emperor's reign.

In "The Weathercock" we have a man with two faces indicating the direction of the wind on the top of a tower. On one side of the hat common to both faces is the tricolour cockade; on the other the white one. With one mouth he shouts, "Vive l'Empereur!" with the other "Vive le Roi!" This was the attitude of a great many Frenchmen both in 1814 and 1815. Another amusing caricature is called "The Windmill." In this case the windmill is crowned by a Phrygian

[1] *Vide* "The Consular Trio," ch. xx. p. 38.

[2] "The date was April 1. Talleyrand, Dalberg, Beurnonville, Jaucourt and the Abbé de Montesquiou at once formed a Provisional Government, but the soul of it was Tallyrand. The Czar gave the word, and Talleyrand acted as scene-shifter. The last tableau of this constitutional farce was reached on the following day, when the Senate and the Corps Législatif declared that Napoleon had ceased to reign."—J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 425.

cap. At each of the four sails is a Marshal. Napoleon is seen at the back blowing with all his might. The following dialogue is put in the mouths of the *dramatis personæ* :—

Napoleon loq. "Gentlemen, the wind has the scent of violets."

First Marshal (Ney). "Sire, I swear to be true to you and kiss your hand."

Second Marshal. "Sire, if you blow so hard you will put us out."

Third Marshal. "Sire, you are blowing so well that I warrant you I shall play my part."

Fourth Marshal. "His Majesty looks to me as if he had but one breath left in life."

Miller (at the window). "Mister Sire, there's no grain left in the mill ; these gentlemen are turning round for nothing."

In this caricature, which relates to the events of March 1815, there is a combination of the symbolism of the violet with that of the weathercocks and windmills.

"Vite, soufflons, soufflons, morbleu
Eteignons les lumières
Et rallumons le feu !"

Thus runs the inscription under a caricature of 1819, in which half-a-dozen clerics are vainly endeavouring to extinguish the flames kindled by Voltaire, Rousseau, and the philosophers of the eighteenth century. The idea of the "Order of the Extinguishers" goes back to the reign of the Sun King, but it was resuscitated by the *Yellow Dwarf*, to which paper, after the Restoration, the cynical Louis XVIII. used to communicate suggestions for the lampooning of his own servants. As far

as Napoleon is concerned, the simile of the "extinguisher" was used both by his friends and enemies. In the struggle of 1830 it was employed exclusively by Daumier and others for the chastisement of Charles X. and his army of intolerant and tactless reactionaries.

In "Futile Efforts" (early in 1815) we see at the top Napoleon as a winged genius holding up a tricolour flag inscribed "Honour, Country, and Liberty," and in the other hand a roll marked "Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland," &c. From his head rises a flame, with the words "You will never put that one out!" At the bottom Louis XVIII. is standing on two volumes entitled "Constitutional Charter" and "Inquisition, Clergy, Feudal Rights," and trying to put an extinguisher over the flame. He says, "My books are too flat." At his side the Duchess d'Angoulême is standing on two birettas, and fails also with her extinguisher. She says, "I want the cross and the banner." On Louis's left the Comte d'Artois is standing on the back of a horse and tries to use his extinguisher. He says, "I feel I am slipping." On either side two men, one on a ladder and a roof and the other on the back of a kneeling woman, each with an extinguisher, say, "I shall never reach him!" and the other, "G—— d—— how high he is!" Below is given the full title, "Useless Efforts of the Grand Masters of the Royal Order of the Extinguisher."

In "The Twilight" the unwieldy Louis is depicted on the apex of an extinguisher. While an eagle plucks off his crown he drops a paper inscribed "Constitutional Charter." He is seized with a sudden terror at the sight of Napoleon, who emerges from beneath the extinguisher, and points triumphantly to the words "Champ de

Le Génie de la France renversant le Grand Etoignoir Impérial

Déposé à la Direction

A Paris, chez aux Mds de Nouveautés

Mai." In "Napoleon—Real Grand Master," the Emperor is shown standing sideways in the costume of a Grand Master with a collar consisting of extinguishers and holding the handle of a big extinguisher in the shape of a serpent throwing venom upon an eagle forming the base. Beneath the extinguisher lie allegorical figures of the Arts, Agriculture, Commerce, Labour, &c.; on it are carved cannons, soldiers, battles, &c., and on the ground are corpses. Below are the words: "Napoleon—Real Grand Master of the Order of Extinguishers."

The last of the "extinguisher" series is "The Genius of France Upsetting the Great Imperial Extinguisher." In the centre one sees a winged genius with a spray of lilies in its hand overturning a large extinguisher which Napoleon clutches by the handle. Thunderbolts strike him and he falls to the ground. From the extinguisher protrude rolls of paper lettered "Breton Federation," "Parisian Federation," "French Generals," "Old Guard," "National Guards," "Commerce," "Manufactures," "Forced Voluntary Gifts," "Conscription of 1815, 1816, 1817," "Battle of Waterloo," "New Army," and "New Subsidies." Near the fallen Emperor are smaller extinguishers on which are written, "13th Vendémiaire," "Egypt," "Spain," "Moscow," and "Leipzic." In the background is the sea with a sailing ship, and in the right-hand corner a woman, whose dress is adorned with fleurs-de-lis, is seated on the ground and looks at the genius approvingly. This was in the autumn of 1815, when Napoleon was on his way to St. Helena. Fifteen years later the "extinguisher" caricatures contributed materially to the overthrow and discomfiture of those by whom it was the will of Europe he should be supplanted.

CHAPTER XXII

NAPOLEON IN GERMAN CARICATURE (1800–1821)

"We must declare our settled purpose of restoring the independence of Germany, of annihilating the Confederation of the Rhine, and we must incite all Germans to join the allied armies, in order to conquer their liberties."—STEIN, *Memoir of November* 5, 1812.

"There it lies then, the monstrous fabric cemented with the blood and tears of so many millions, and reared by an insane and accursed tyranny; from one end of Germany to the other we may venture to say aloud that Napoleon is a villain and the enemy of the human race, that the shameful fetters in which he bound our country are broken, and the shame with which they covered us is washed out in streams of French blood."—STEIN, *Letters to his wife on the day after the entry of the Allies into Leipsic* (*October* 1813).

THROUGHOUT the seventy years which followed the battle of Waterloo the German caricatures relating to Napoleon remained a sealed book alike to the student of History and Art. It was not till 1885 that John Grand-Cartaret devoted some fifty pages of his interesting work, *Les Mœurs et la Caricature en Allemagne, en Autriche, en Suisse*,[1] to a cursory examination of the subject. The world had to wait nearly twenty years later for any serious attempt on the part of German writers to elucidate the various problems which belong to this important phase in the annals of the Fatherland. It was as recently as 1904 that *Die Karikatur der Europäischen Völker vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit* of Edward Fuchs[2] made its

[1] Paris. Louis Westhausser, Ancienne Libraire Hinrichsen et Cie, 40 Rue des Saints-Pères.

[2] A. Hofmann & Co.

Freiwilliger Rückzug der großen französischen Armée.

Soldaten Freunde Franzosen!! Wieder Gott Natur u. Barbarei, kan Ich kant Ihr nicht kämpfen. Dem Überrest meiner Armee soll mein vielgeliebter Schwager der König von Neapel und die Wirtschaftsführer Freund schaftlich gesinnte Volcker, welche wir befreit und Glücklich gemacht haben, werden Euch mit Liebe empfangen, u. mit Wohlthaten überhaufen.

[illegible]

appearance in Berlin, to be followed four years later by Friederich Schulze's *Die Franzosenzeit in deutschen Landen*, 1806–1815.[1] M. Grand-Cartaret makes no pretence of treating the alluring topic he incidentally touches on either exhaustively or even with any attention to detail. He contents himself with tracing in as few words as possible the connection between the satirical prints of the reactionary *Revolutions Almanachs* of Dunker and David Hess and the democratic *Obscuranten Almanachs* of J. Heinrich Lips, and the caricatures which annoyed Napoleon only as pin-pricks between 1798 and 1813, but helped most materially to stimulate that fierce outburst of popular opinion which demanded the annihilation of the tyrant as soon as the triumph of the Allies at Leipzic shook beyond possibility of recovery the power hitherto believed to be unassailable. As Herr Fuchs concisely puts it in his work on European caricature: "Germany as the great Napoleonic battlefield was hardly likely to be a fertile soil for caricature against Napoleon, although Hamburg proved for a time an exception to the rule. For some years the Germans were not unfavourable to the upstart, and looked upon him rather as a liberator and an agent of the freedom of the Revolution than an oppressor and usurper. Another drawback was the shortcomings of every artistic and independent individuality, and, above all, the curse of the past. So long had the nation bowed under the yoke of autocrats that it could not find its freedom of expression in a moment. German caricature had no independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and no style of its own. It was influenced by foreign

[1] Leipzic. R. Voigtländers Verlag: 1908.

culture which made Paris the heart and London the brain of the world, and it became a mere imitative thing. The early German anti-Napoleon plates are generally copies or adaptations of Gillray, Rowlandson, and Cruikshank. The newspaper, *London and Paris*, published from 1798 at Weimar and then at Halle, kept German readers *au courant* of English caricature. Things changed in 1813. The victory of Leipzic removed the nightmare from German breasts and restored faith in themselves. The national upheaval brought two artists to the front, good craftsmen, though not stars of the first magnitude, the Swabian Johann Michael Voltz,[1] and the North German Johann Gottfried Schadow.[2] The first especially was the spokesman of the ever-growing *vox populi*. The simplicity of thought and execution which characterise his pictures require little explanation. Leipzic was the first nut which Napoleon lacked the strength to crack. The first rift showed itself in the great scheme of world-mastery." Dr. J. Holland Rose sketches in a few forcible sentences the noble work done in 1812 and the three following years by Stein, Arndt, and Fichte, and the band of ardent patriots of which they were the leaders.[3] The poets and professors had no more useful allies than Voltz and Schadow and their clever Swiss contemporaries Hess and Girardet, who for many years had pursued Napoleon with their pencils at the imminent peril of their lives.[4] Amongst the less prominent German caricaturists of Napoleon were Gottfried Geissler of Leipzic, who ridiculed Jérome Bonaparte as "Hieronymus" (*i.e.* "Herr-ohne-Moos," or "the man without a sou"),

[1] Voltz (1784–1858).
[2] Schadow (1764–1850).
[3] *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 270–75.
[4] See *post*, ch. xxvi.

SHAPING OUT THE WORLD

J. Henry Ramberg (1763–1840), and E. T. W. Hoffman (1776–1822), who saw Napoleon at Leipzic and afterwards designed a series of spirited caricatures against him, which have now become excessively rare.

In 1798 the publication of *London and Paris* commenced at Weimar. The motto assumed by the editor was "Quicquid, quos 'Tamesis' nutrit, quos 'Sequana' rident, Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli."[1] Through *London and Paris* many of the finest efforts of Gillray, Rowlandson, and the Cruikshanks were distributed throughout the length and breadth of Europe. In some instances the original ideas of the artist were adapted to the requirements of the foreign market, but as a rule they were reproduced without any material alteration, but on a reduced scale. They are often mistaken for modern forgeries. In 1806 the title was changed to *Paris-Vienna-London*, and the office of the publishers removed to Halle, where it continued till 1811, when it became *Paris-Vienna*. Under this designation it continued to appear at Rudolstadt until 1815. In reproducing a number of the most famous anti-Napoleonic English caricatures, Fuchs speaks thus of the rôle played by England in the war of satire waged against Napoleon during two entire decades: "The great source of satirical output against Napoleon was England, firstly because her world-power clashed with his ambitions from the beginning to the end, and secondly,

[1] "Whatever the Thames may foster or may move the Seine to smile, all joy, all debate is the compound of our little book." At a much later date other English caricatures of the 1803–5 period were adapted and republished in sheet form with German lettering. An adaptation of West's print of August 8, 1803, "Resolutions in Case of an Invasion" (see Appendix A, No. 752), appeared in 1812 or 1813.

because her civil freedom gave great scope for the development of the art. Three stars stand out: Gillray, Rowlandson, and Cruikshank. While the English ministers with English gold were financing European coalitions, these three geniuses were welding hatreds together against the usurper with their pen and pencil. Natural strength and unfettered savageness are the characteristic of all three and mordant satire their originality. Everything is drawn in the strongest colours, and there is no reticence in the matter of obscene language and situations. Caricature is a source of truth, and lights up the real situation before it is suspected by the masses; thus in his first caricature against Napoleon we see Gillray hitting off the real meaning of the expedition to Egypt: the contest between England and France for the mastery of the world. This by its artistic power and simplicity is a fitting prelude to the campaign of satire that followed." [1] A little later he again returns to the subject of England and the personal influence he supposes Pitt to have exercised in the "output" of anti-Napoleonic caricature. "In England," says Herr Fuchs, "caricature was not at all the child of chance springing solely from the artist's caprice and ceasing so soon as humour failed him; it was the avowed and, what is more, the subsidised confederate of the Government, especially of Pitt, the most implacable enemy of France. Pitt, who knew the colossal power of public opinion in a constitutional land, was, as we learn from the history of political caricature, the only statesman up to that time who grasped the full effect inherent in political caricature, how it can

[1] *Die Karikatur*, pp. 161 and 175.

goad the *vox populi* to the most powerful utterances, and is in a position to bring it again and again up to the boiling-point; and for this reason James Gillray was his best friend. Pitt, that most precise and calm Lord Chancellor [*sic*] of England, gave Gillray ideas for pictures; and Pitt feathered with his wit many of the satirical shafts that sped against the 'Corsican Pest,' as he termed Napoleon." The present writer has failed to find any evidence in support of this somewhat startling assertion. Gillray often caricatured Pitt himself with both cruelty and coarseness, and that when the contest with Napoleon was at its acutest stage between 1803 and 1805. Pitt undoubtedly favoured the caricaturist Sayer, but the constant target of Sayer's wit was Fox and his associates, and not Napoleon, who for some unaccountable reason he left severely alone. If Herr Fuchs is mistaken about Pitt, he falls into a far more serious error when he comes to speak of the relations between the French Emperor and the caricaturists who for years inundated France with grotesque prints of the English king and his myrmidons—Pitt of course at the head of them, bribing the venal sovereigns of Europe to resist the legitimate efforts of Napoleon to promote the best interests of peace and freedom! "How did Napoleon manœuvre in this duel that caricaturists waged with him?" asks the author of *Die Karikatur*. "Did he ever reply with the same weapons? No! He knew not the use of caricature. The fight was all on one side. Napoleon knew not laughter. This is all the more remarkable when we see that at the beginning of his career he understood the effect of mockery and irony. 'No memory is kept long in Paris,' he said to his con-

fidants on his return from his first Italian campaign; 'if I stay long here without doing something I shall be lost! When they have seen me thrice at the theatre they will no more turn round after me.' That Napoleon never availed himself of ridicule as a weapon is due, perhaps to the fact that he always posed as a god before the world. And gods have no power to laugh and mock." [1]

Herr Fuchs thinks Napoleon's solitary weapon of defence against his satirical foes consisted of lying official bulletins and the consistent mendacity of the *Moniteur*, but he is in error. From first to last Napoleon was a diligent inspirer of caricatures, not only against England the Political Corrupter of Europe, but against those who attempted to thwart his boundless ambition either in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Russia, or Germany. That he originated the earliest caricatures relating to his first successes against the Germans and Austrians there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. Caricature was far too powerful an engine to be for an instant neglected by that master mind, which in the dark days of 1814–15 evolved the felicitous idea of "Father Violet," gained the powerful support of the *Yellow Dwarf*, and won over to his side, for a time at least, a small army of enthusiastic satirical draughtsmen.

We know nothing of the caricature shops of Berlin, Vienna, Augsburg, or Hamburg, but there was one publisher at least who was almost as industrious as Martinet in the Rue du Coq St. Honoré or Fores in Piccadilly. When Frederick Campe first opened his emporium of prints at Nuremberg, Bohemia favoured Napoleon, and

[1] See Introduction, p. xxxiii, also *ante*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 26.

THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG

she continued to sympathise with him down to 1813, when all Germany turned against him almost as one man. Campe enlisted the services of Johann Michael Voltz,[1] a native of Nördlinger, but for a time his battle scenes and other pictures were politically colourless, if they did not actually favour Napoleon. It was not till after the disasters of the Saxon campaign that he turned on Napoleon with all the ferocity which characterises the "Triumph of the Year 1813," and a dozen kindred productions. It was at this epoch that Johann Gottfried Schadow, adopting the pseudonyms of "Gilrai-Paris" and "Gilray-London," endeavoured to emulate the unrelenting hostility of the great English master of satire towards "Little Boney" during the crisis of 1803–5. It is only fair to say that some of these "Gilrai-Paris" and "Gilray-London" prints bear a strong resemblance to the undoubted work of the indefatigable Voltz, many of whose anti-Napoleonic caricatures were extensively copied both in England and on the Continent.

One of the earliest German caricatures relates to Bonaparte's campaign in Italy (1796–97), and a meeting which he is supposed to have had with the Archduke Charles for the purpose of negotiating a peace.[2] They are depicted in conference beneath a tent. In the background angels, holding olive branches in their hands, are

[1] See Dr. Karl Hagen's *The Artist of the War of Liberty: Johann Michael Voltz*, Stuttgart, 1863. Voltz was apprenticed in 1801 to F. Weber of Augsburg, and five years later entered the Academy of H. von. Hertzberg, with whom he studied etching and engraving. Some of his paintings are in the National Gallery at Berlin, and others in the Museum at Breslau.

[2] As a matter of fact, Austria was represented at Leoben (April 13–18, 1797) by plenipotentiaries. On April 7, when a suspension of hostilities was agreed to at Judenbourg, the Archduke Charles sent two of his generals, Bellegarde and Merfeld, to sign the necessary compact.

blowing trumpets, while French and Austrian soldiers effusively exchange embraces. The full title of the print is "Prince Charles and General Bonaparte as Peacemakers." It was published by C. Tretta & Co. of Augsburg, and was obviously intended to popularise the negotiations at Leoben and Rastadt. The next German caricatures appeared nearly seven years later, when the capitulation of Ulm (October 19–20, 1805) and the victory of Austerlitz (December 2) had still further shattered the power of Austria. To ridicule Napoleon in Germany by pencil or otherwise was now more dangerous than ever, but in "Vigilance and Envy" we see him standing before a map of Central Europe lettered "Bremen," "Nuremberg," "Hamburg," and so forth. Dogs are tearing pieces out of it and endeavouring to make off with them, but Napoleon acts as the protector of the oppressed and keeps them at bay. Above are the words, "Envy covets what is not its own to have. Vigilance cries, 'Hands off.'" The English dog is apparently hankering after Hamburg. The execution of this woodcut is exceedingly crude, but the personality of Bonaparte is indicated by an inscription.

The caricature "The Triumph of the French Eagle" (1806), with its lengthy bilingual description, is manifestly intended to glorify Napoleon. The one-headed French eagle, holding a thunderbolt in its talons, has its beak firmly fixed in the throat of the exhausted two-headed eagle of Austria, which sheds not only its feathers, but arms, diadems, money, the emblems of royalty, heraldic shields, and *a large number of English banknotes*. The spectators below, standing on either side of a stream, point admiringly to the catastrophe. The Russian

THE LUCKY HUNTER

agle, led by a solan goose, has taken to flight, losing lso most of its feathers. The Prussian eagle surveys he scene complacently from behind a rampart of clouds. Below are the following lines in French, which may be endered thus :—

"Let future folk bewail
My splendour more than regal,
That now perforce must pale
Before the Golden Eagle!

Through War and Peace proceeding,
France marches with her Hero :
Beside his glorious leading
All others' ranks at zero.

Iskander, Pompey, Cæsar
Did death deal at all hours—
Napoleon's laurelled leisure
Is spent in strewing flowers."

The German verses may be thus translated :—

"Despite the critics' bile,
This peerless plate inveigles
All men to gaze and smile
At three great battling Eagles.

The French bird wins the day
And gives the Austrian what for!
Mauls, tugs, and tears away
The sovereign signs he's fought for.

A goose to climes of snow
Guides Russia, who flies after,
Where Rhenish waters flow
Beholders rock with laughter."

In "Café Lisel," one of the early productions of ampe of Nuremberg (1811), the effect of the Berlin ecrees on the price and quality of coffee is gently

satirised by the remarks of an obese lady, "Magen-wasser," who is enjoying her morning *café-au-lait* at a table. The fun consists in the punning use of the term "Magenwasser," which also signifies an ailment arising from the too free consumption of watered coffee. It was probably about this time that a German caricature favourable to Napoleon's fiscal policy appeared under the title of "British Pride." An English officer in a peculiarly humiliating position is endeavouring to in-duce the Grand Turk to receive sugar, coffee, and pepper. Horrible massacres of the Christians by the Turks are going on in the distance. The Sultan sits on a huge bale of goods labelled "Treaty with all the Christian Nations." Austria looks on observantly through a tele-scope. In the pocket of her representative is a packet in-scribed "Reversion of the Pascha of Three Asses' Tails."

Germany was soon, however, to be occupied by much more serious matters than the insensate commercial policy of Napoleon, which had entailed so much misery on nearly the whole of Europe. In the Russian disasters of 1812 patriots like Stein, Fichte, Arndt, Steffens, and Körner found their eagerly longed-for opportunity. The new year had scarcely dawned before the War of Liberation was decided on, and on March 17, 1813, a Russo-Prussian Convention was concluded at Breslau. It was now that the German caricaturists came to the aid of the poets, philosophers, and professors who were stimulating the statesmen and soldiers to a death-struggle with the Tyrant. Before the end of 1812 caricatures like "The Voluntary Retreat of the Great French Army" were doing their work all over Germany. The nightmare of fifteen years was at an

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FINALE

ıd, and the time of re-awakening had arrived. In this ıricature, now reproduced, we see a snowy plain strewn ith unlimbered guns and dead bodies. French soldiers ad in rags, as well as looted furs, silks, and satins, are ıambling along. A mounted general, engaged in de-ouring a horse's head, carries "The Twenty-ninth ulletin of the Grand Army." Soldiers round a camp-re are cooking horse-flesh. The text below runs as llows :—

"Soldiers! Friends!! Frenchmen!!! Against od, Nature, and Barbarism I cannot, I could not fight. ly well-beloved Brother-in-law, the King of Naples, ill lead the remainder of my Army into Winter quarters. riendly-minded Peoples, whom we have made *free* and *appy*, will receive you with love and load you with indnesses." (From the last Order of the Day of Napoleon o his Army.)

Then comes a set of verses, of which the following is metrical translation :—

"The host of the transcendent Nation
(So runs Napoleon's proclamation),
Demolished Moscow freely barters
For more commodious winter quarters,
To such victorious warriors due—
This picture makes it plain to you,
For Art is here to Nature true.

Alas, that such triumphant legions,
Who've swept o'er half our peopled regions,
No longer now should sport the laurel,
But snow-caked spoils for all apparel!
The French, you know, put faith in Christ,
So where that loot has not sufficed,
You see an *eikon*, rather iced!

Bereft of mount, yon saddled trooper
Carries his wench by way of 'crouper.'
She warms his neck with silk and satin
While his split bark-boots let a rat in!
His foppish finery makes a show;
But then that footwear! . . . let it go!
He travels quite *incogni-toe!*

What matters if his hat is faded?
It's still most gloriously cockaded!
For sure those colours three united
Must terror-strike the foe when sighted!
Let Cossack or Bashi-bazouk
Draw up and have a single look,
And lo! he promptly 'takes his hook'!

'Twould seem for food that General faint is!
Wherefore? with such delicious dainties!
A horse's luscious jawbones nestle
For him in his domestic vessel!
That party huddled in a sleigh
Is driving off, the envious say,
To Paris for their *déjeuné!*"

There is a companion print to this entitled "The Voluntary Bivouac of the Great French Army in November 1812," but evidently by another artist. Its details are of the most gruesome description. A dead horse is being flayed and dismembered to supply the wants of the starving soldiers, one of whom is toasting a rat on the point of his bayonet. A crow hovering overhead carries in his mouth a scroll lettered *Ça ira.*

"Bonaparte's World-Sovereignty" must have also appeared at this juncture. In it we have a picture of a German homestead, in which the mother is seen sitting dejected on some straw, her babe by her, while the father, standing in an attitude of despair, looks at Napoleon on horseback passing amidst soldiers away

THE UNIVERSAL TOAST.

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Conseil de Georges III. et désolation de M. Pitt.

[illegible] contre la France il y a un an, dit le Roi à Pitt; aujourd'hui la France est à la tête de la coalition contre nous, tous les Ports nous [illegible] la banqueroute nous désolerent. Partés mon cher Pitt, dans deux ans je vous ferai Ministre à condition [illegible]

to the left. Ruined and burning buildings occupy the background. Below the title are the words: "A retrospect into the past. When all stand as one man, we can laugh at the Tyrant; but when there is no real unity, then things, through us, go on as you see depicted here. Then, Germans, grasp one another's hand and swear allegiance to the Fatherland. Then God and the whole of Europe will help us to annihilate the Tyrant."

Here we have the keynote of the sentiment which inspired the prose of Fichte and the verse of Arndt, as well as the pencils of Schadow and Voltz. In the outline etching, "Sharing-out the World," now reproduced, we have a good example of the plates which J. G. Schadow signed "Gilrai," but not "Gilray Junior," as the Swiss satirist David Hess had done twelve years before. Napoleon stands pointing to the map of the world: his marshals each have a share allotted to them: a Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs writes lists out, "*Je prends, tu prends, il prend, &c.:*" two guardsmen and two troopers are at the back. This was intended to cast ridicule on the pretensions the French Emperor was now powerless to enforce. The days of the Confederation of the Rhine were numbered. In "The Wheelbarrow Stuck Fast" the left hand of Napoleon rests on the shaft of a wheelbarrow heavily laden with sacks of "contributions" which has stuck fast in the mud. With his right hand he points to the eagles of Prussia, Russia, and Austria about to swoop down upon him. He exclaims: "Through my avarice I have got the barrow stuck in the mud. These reap the reward of their boldness."

The humour of "The Mender of Crowns" is obvious enough. Seated at a table, Napoleon is busily engaged

in mending a broken crown. Joseph and Jerôme bring packets of crowns to him, but he cannot help them. He merely says: "I have enough to do with my own." In the "Sad Picture of the French Retreat" Napoleon is portrayed as sitting in a meditative mood beneath a tent improvised in the snow, surrounded by his officers. Soldiers are engaged in roasting an ox, while a line of baggage-waggons moves slowly out of sight. Below are the words: "Sad picture of the French retreat in Thuringia. One asks oneself, Is this the great leader of hosts before whom up till now the whole of Europe trembled?" (No. 23, Bulletin of the Crown Prince of Sweden.) In "The Organ Grinder" we see Napoleon clad in the familiar grey coat turning a dilapidated hurdy-gurdy, singing dolefully, "But it couldn't always remain so"—seemingly a German refrain.

"Napoleon and Fortune" is an exceedingly fine caricature signed "Gillray, London, 1813," and presumably by J. G. Schadow. Napoleon is seated on a heap of human skulls, the Devil watching over him from behind. He holds out a dish to the figure of Fortune standing on a globe in clouds before him. At his feet is a broken sword lettered "Napoleon's Power and Fame." His right knee shows through his breeches and his toes through his foot-gear. The ribbon of the Legion of Honour is bound round his instep. In the distance are seen the Rhine, a city, a sunset, and buildings on fire.

Napoleon loq. "Once more fill me the cup of fortune and forsake not him thou hast so unboundedly loved: willingly shall I sacrifice all for thee so long as thou lettest me not be the sport of insult and mockery."

Fortune loq. "Long enough have I clung tenderly

SEIZE BERLIN

THE HALLE GATE

to thee: no child of earth ever received such proofs of favour as thou: but thou wast ungrateful, and instead of requests and of patience, thou commandedst and defiedst me. Eventually I should have succumbed to thy misdeeds. I now fly from thee; I hate thee, and have betaken myself unto those who cherish righteousness."

In "The Untimely and Importunate Couriers" we see Napoleon standing by a table receiving despatches from a number of military officers. The ground at his feet is covered with petitions of all sorts, such as "Demand for new Army Corps," "Old and Young Guard," and so forth. The bewildered Emperor cries: "Can I call troops into existence by stamping on the ground? Do cannon grow out of my hand?" A far more ambitious creation is "The Battle of Leipzic," an aquatint, reproduced as an illustration. The fate of the world trembled in the balance on those eventful days in October 1813, when Napoleon failed to "crack the nut" presented to him by the new Coalition. The Emperor sits on a crimson carpet spread over a mound. Three maps lie at his feet, lettered "Brandenburg," "Silesia," and "Lausitz," while a fourth, that of Saxony, rests on his knee. To this he points with his forefinger. The Angel of Victory is on his right; Death stands on his left; and behind him is the Prince of Darkness. In the background a cavalry skirmish is in progress before a city. In the distance is a gallows inscribed "Restauration." The following colloquy takes place between them:—

Angel of Victory loq.—

"Thou sitt'st with mien of murderous make;
Now 'fore the eternal judgment quake!"

The Devil loq.—

"My Legions will reward thee!"

Death loq.—

"Beneath these gallows clear and bright,
With yonder heroes I will fight."

According to the accompanying text the four maps are supposed to speak as follows :—

The Marchland of Brandenburg—

"No more on me thy foot shall fall :
We're all as one and 'One for All!'"

Silesia—

"From 'Marshal Forward'[1] thou may'st learn
Thou'lt never hither dare return."

Lausitz[2]—

"My burgs and thorpes hast thou laid waste,
Thou world-upheaver, fly in haste!"

Saxony—

"To me thy finger points in vain :
The world-subduer's had his reign!"

There are two versions of the plate "The Lucky Hunter," in which we meet with a pun on the word goat which must not be confused with that alluded to in connection with Napoleonic caricatures of Russian origin.[3] In German the expression "to shoot a he-goat" means to make a mistake. Napoleon in his grey overcoat and cocked hat carries a heavy buck on his shoulders.

[1] Marshal Prince Blücher.
[2] A sub-province of Prussia on the Saxon border.
[3] See *post*, ch. xxiv. p. 182.

DER RHEINISCHE COURIER
verliehrt auf der Heimreise von der Leipziger Meße alles

THE COURIER OF THE RHINE

Below is an explanatory verse of four lines. Beneath the second print are the words, "This buck have I shot."

Another curious German caricature of 1813 is "The Cup of Tribulation," which may almost rank as a puzzle-picture. The bowl of a cup, apparently of turned wood, stands on a foot of the same material. The bowl is profusely decorated with eagles, stars, &c. The lines of the stem disclose a profile face of Napoleon. On the foot appears "The Prayer of the Europeans":—

"We pray thee, Father, to behold
Thy chastened and repentant fold.
When came this Cup we understood
Thou hadst but sent it for our good.

Each time, alas, we drank it up,
Yet further poison filled the Cup.
And Europe now doth cry to Thee,
O Father, take this Cup from me!"

In "Spanish and Cossack Offers" we see Napoleon declining with a gesture of dismay a glass of Spanish bitters and a Russian ice tendered for his acceptance by a Spanish officer and a Cossack. One asks him: "Did you order Spanish bitters?" The other: "Did you desire Russian ice?" The bewildered Emperor replies: "No, no! The one is too cold, and the other makes me too hot." The "Commencement of the Finale," now reproduced, is one of J. G. Schadow's finest efforts, but it is unsigned, and bears the French title "Commencement du Finale."[1] It is facetiously stated to be published at Paris "*chez* Jeronimo Furioso"—a sly hit at

[1] The title is said to be derived from the expression supposed to have been used by Talleyrand on receiving the news of the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzic. The great diplomatist is credited with saying the same thing about the Spanish "adventure" of 1808.

the King of Westphalia. The artist puts into the face of the listening Napoleon all the special knowledge of his features which he acquired in 1806. Napoleon stands with his back to the stage, while the finale is being played on the 'cello by the King of Prussia, the flute by Bernadotte, and the fiddle by the Emperor of Austria—the Czar, who sits on a barrel, conducting. The scene on the stage shows the defection of the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation, who melt away into the "flies." The Duke of Bavaria has drawn his sword in a threatening attitude, and passes his hand under his chin with the Italian meaning, there is nothing to be hoped for from me. The King of Wurtemberg turns his back on the audience, lifting up his coat tails disrespectfully; the Prince of Dessau carries off a fowling-piece; while Frederick Augustus of Saxony disappears with a prayer-book. The Harlequin is probably intended for the much-disliked "Jeronimo."

The victorious eagles again figure conspicuously in the aquatint "The Universal Monarch," which, although unquestionably of German origin and design, was published in London by Boydell on October 21, 1813, only three days after the crushing defeat of Napoleon at Leipzic. Several varieties of this print, which is now given in facsimile, exist, and it was also reproduced in Holland.[1] Napoleon is sitting on a heap of human skulls marked "Enghien," "Pichegru," "Hofer," "Schill," &c., his feet resting on the "Treaty of Tilsit," "Treaty of Lunéville," &c., and behind him the "Peace of Moscow" in flames. Berthier is kneeling before him in adoration; on his right a court official pours from

[1] See *post*, ch. xxv. p. 192.

So zerſtieben getraeumte Weltreiche

a ewer marked *Tears* into a cup which Bertrand offers him. On his left Folly personified flings crosses and orders to four persons in uniform. In the distance are burning cities and a river—the Rhine, with a broken bridge marked "Dresden Bridge, Defence of the Rhenish Confederation." In the foreground are sacks inscribed "Hessian treasure," "Austrian contributions," "Domain monies," &c. In the sky are the eagles of Prussia, Austria, and Russia hurling their thunderbolts at him, for the position of the king-birds in the caricature "The Triumph of the French Eagle" (1806)[1] is now reversed. In an uncoloured edition of the same print are many variations. The names of the victorious eagles are printed over them, and the skulls of the victims of Napoleon's ambition are arrayed on a platform lettered "Oldenburg," "Bremen," "Hamburg," "Lübeck," "Westphalia," and "Holland." The wine-cups into which the tears are being poured are lettered respectively "Widows" and "Orphans," and in the background flows the Elbe. Beneath the figure of Marshal Berthier kneeling before Napoleon is a verse of four lines in which the Prince of Neuchatel urges him to renounce a tottering throne, and predicts his fall if he declines to follow the counsel given him. The Harlequin who scatters crowns and crosses rests his foot on a barrel filled with "Austrian contributions." Before a corpulent Marshal is a sack inscribed "Continental imports." The full title of this version of the print is "The New Universal Monarch on his Throne reared for the Good of Mankind."

"The Overthrow of Fame" is another of the outline prints which Schadow etched and signed "Gilrai" (*sic*),

[1] See *ante*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 93.

adding the words "à Paris chez Blaise." The whole of the lettering is in French except the words "Nach Posen" on a direction-post. An empty sleigh is described as the Tragic Car. Napoleon has quitted it, and turns his back to the spectator,[1] while the dog "Voix Publique" yaps violently at his heels. A tall grenadier standing to attention personifies Hope. The faithful Rustan, who receives Napoleon's orders with a fur pelisse over his arm, says: "In Egypt it was too hot, Russia too cold." Marshal "Excellence" is arguing with the driver "Complaisance." Behind come the representatives of the "escort of light cavalry" and the "Cadre of an Infantry Regiment in perspective." On the left lies a prostrate Spanish mule, from the back of which has fallen "Madame Fame," who clutches eagerly at her broken trumpet. A cuirassier who looks on apparently much amused is supposed to typify "Observation and Reflection." In another caricature, "The Knight in Armour," Napoleon stands on a torn map of Europe reeling and vomiting, while streams of blood ooze from his top-boots. While a Russian peasant whips him with a knout, the knight holds out a paper on which appear the names of Leipzic and other victories of the Allies.

"Seize Berlin," now reproduced, is another of the "Schadow-Gilrai" outline etchings. Napoleon stands in the middle of a mound, with Rustan drawing a scimitar behind him, and addresses a marshal: "Seize Berlin!"[2] In front of him moves forward a procession

[1] This is perhaps the first of a long series of back-views of Napoleon.

[2] In the opinion of Dr. J. Holland Rose, this caricature is intended to ridicule the orders issued by Napoleon to Oudinot.

of "the great sapper of the Empire," "the drum-major," "the great receiver of the Empire," "the great shearer," "the great barker" (a grey-hound standing for the *Journal de l'Empire*), and the "Translateur allemand," a fat woman with pen and ink, riding on a donkey, with two children, her employés, in panniers. Behind come troops for the capture of Berlin. The pendant to this print is "The Halle Gate." A Prussian soldier and an armed bear guard the gate, with a "Who's there?" The French soldiers are taken aback and say severally: "What a nerve!" "Oh, the fine quarters!" "We had tamed this bear, but he has gone wild again." "France, thy drum is broken." This print is dated August 22, 1813, and relates to the important results achieved in the engagement at Grossbeeren which saved Berlin.

These caricatures, with another, "Joy of the Great Nation," apparently formed a series. The coarseness of the last-named prevents its reproduction, and is unworthy of the genius of Schadow. The "Raven's Feast at Leipzic" is one of the numerous caricatures which relate directly to the crowning victory of the Allies. The full title is "The Great Feast of the Carrion Crows at Leipzic." In it we see a flock of carrion crows devouring the corpses of the slain. Three of their number present an address of thanks to Napoleon, who replies: "Enough, my black guests, I must away. I scent Cossacks already." To the same category belongs "The Courier of the Rhine," a caricature extensively copied in England, Italy, and France.[1] The original, now reproduced, is unquestionably German. Napoleon, in

[1] See Appendices A, 431, and D, 64.

the guise of a courier, grasping in his hands a staff surmounted by a figure of Charlemagne, runs along the banks of the Rhine opposite Mayence. The contents of his wallet escape, and flutter in the wind; *inter alia*, maps of Holland, Switzerland, Poland, the Hanseatic Cities, Italy, the Rhenish Confederation, and drawings of the Old and Young Guards. Below are the words: "The Rhenish Courier loses all on his return journey from Leipzic Fair."

The caricature "1813" presents another striking contrast to "The Triumph of the French Eagle," by which it was hoped to terrorise or conciliate the Rhenish peasantry seven years before. The text on the print "1813" runs as follows: "This rebuffed eagle wanted to be sole monarch in God's great world-basket." The French eagle with Jove's thunder in its talons is attacked and beaten back by those of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and falls to the foreground where the lions of Sweden and Bavaria await it. In the rear is Neptune's chariot driven by John Bull with his trident; the sun sets on the horizon, and at the top the Angel of Victory, garland in hand, bears a scroll inscribed with the above words. The feathers of the discomfited French eagle fall towards the sea, of which John Bull is indisputably master.

On January 1, 1814, Johann Michael Voltz made the Fatherland a present of the "Corpse-head"—the famous caricature of Napoleon which he entitled the "Triumph of the Year 1813"—a New Year's gift to the German People,"[1] which will be discussed and described in a separate chapter. Germany was now rapidly repaying her debt of gratitude to the real Gillray, as well as to

[1] See *post*, ch. xxix. See also Appendices A, D, E, F, G, H, and I.

THE GREAT EAGLE MADE TO MOULT

Rowlandson, the Cruikshanks, and others. Little less popular than "The Triumph" was "The Mop," with which Mr. John Lane has embellished the covers of these volumes. The print itself is less than six inches square. In the lower left-hand corner the much beringed hand of the Allies grasps a mop in the centre of which is a head of Napoleon quite worthy of Schadow. A monster spider holds the Emperor's skull in its clutches. The rings on the avenging hand are lettered E (England), R (Russia), P (Prussia), O (Oesterreich-Austria), and S (Sweden). Below are the words: "Out of boundless pride and rapacity thou hadst woven thy web afar, but the united Powers have swept it away with thee, and now art thou in peril of being crushed."

The final sweeping away of the Tyrant was now to begin in good earnest, and the German caricaturists seemed resolved to atone for their long enforced reticence. "The Devil's Darling"—a picture in which the Evil One is depicted in the act of dandling a manikin Napoleon on a cushion—was almost as much copied as "The Triumph."[1] Below the print is the text, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." Hoffman produced two caricatures, "Dame Gallia Recovered Pays her Doctor's Bills," and "The Obsequies of the Universal Monarchy Conducted by Napoleon." In "Napoleon's Arrival in Hell" we see, as might be expected, Satan in the act of inviting Napoleon and three generals, who accompany him, to take places on a throne of piled-up skulls and bones, while Death and demons, provided with flesh-hooks, look on with evidently unfriendly intentions. Below are the words: "Thou hast set up thy throne

[1] See Appendices A, 276, and D, 208.

through the murder of millions of souls: mount it, my dear son, the devils will now torture thee; and as a reward for thy great deeds thou wilt burn in hell for ever!" In the print "A Great General and a Little Emperor,"[1] we see the burly Blücher holding a Lilliputian Napoleon contemptuously on his thumb and flicking him derisively on the nose. The following is a metrical translation of the verses below:—

"A midget came from Corsica
Ambition's path to follow,
And, storming up and down the earth,
Its peoples tried to swallow.
Athwart his way a *Man* was found
Who dashed him badly to the ground
And merely by pea-shooting.

Behold, once more the manikin
From Elba gaily courses,
And throws his vast Imperial net
O'er all our allied forces!
The *Man* has caught him as he goes
And flicks the Tom-Thumb on the nose
And once more sends him scooting!"

In "The New European Barber's Shop" the German caricaturist has recourse to a theme which had already been extensively utilised in England.[2] In this print Napoleon is seated in a chair, with his chin lettered "Holland" and the shaving-cloth marked "Milan," "Kulm," "Brabant," "Leipsig," and so forth. A Prussian officer shaves him with a razor lettered "London, 1813," while a Russian officer holds up a soap-dish inscribed "1812." An Austrian steadies the Emperor's shoulders by placing

[1] This print was adapted in England by an anonymous artist. Appendix A, 413.

[2] See Appendix A, 455.

Stufenleiter der Größe und des Sturzes Napoleon.

STEP-LADDER OF NAPOLEON' RISE AND FALL

his hands on them. "The Fencing Lesson," a fine aquatint by Buckhorn after Schadow, is one of the best of the satirical creations of the future Director of the Academy of Fine Arts at Berlin, whose drawings in sanguine achieved an European reputation. While Blücher fences with Napoleon an Englishman, standing in the middle, acts as referee. Behind "Marshal Vorwarts" to the left are typical South and North Germans and a mounted Cossack about to use his long spear. Behind Napoleon are grouped Italian soldiers with three grotesque Frenchmen, two of them being soldiers and one a civilian. Each character is made to speak in his own language. The colloquy they indulge in is as follows :—

Napoleon loq. "I held in my hands life and death; I gave, I took away, I returned states. That happy time has gone by. . . . Full of horror for me, it removes the bands of error off the nations' eyes."

Blücher loq. "More feints! more springs! I'll rain blows upon his loins! I can trust my old blade, which has proved its worth since Katzbach."

South German loq. "In spite of all his hopping and dodging, the little 'un is in a hole! See what vim he puts into his shifts and tricks! It's no good! His luck's out!"

North German loq. "Look at the old 'un! I guess he'll close the young 'un's saucy mouth with his sword!"

Cossack loq. "Put out the light! To sleep!"

Italian loq. "By shifts and arts he lives one half the year, and by arts and shifts the other half!"

Military Frenchman loq. "The thirst for power, fear,

hope; nothing had weighed down the balance in his hands."

Civilian Frenchman loq. "One goes to the sanctuary with a bold step, and what a horrible spectacle affrights his eyes."

Englishman loq. "Good to begin well, but better to end well! Grasp all, lose all! He that lives a gallop goes to the Devil a Trott (*sic*)."

"The Newest Policy of Napoleon" is one of those puzzle-transparencies[1] which evidently found much favour in the eyes of Germans during the eventful spring of 1814. It refers to the duplicity shown by Napoleon and Caulaincourt (Duke de Vicenza) in the negotiations at Chatillon and Chaumont.[2] On one Napoleon is seen kneeling on the ground and bending his body forward. He grasps a large wheel-like tricolour cockade lettered "Liberty and Equality" with his hands, so as to simulate a gun-carriage. On his back lies a long thick roll of paper to imitate the cannon itself, and marked "Lying Writings to the Allies." Caulaincourt is standing with a taper and affixing sealing-wax to the roll as if applying the fuse to the gun. Out of the muzzle flames are issuing into a cloud of smoke marked "Peace." Three sacks are on the ground inscribed "Guarantee of Thrones," "National Happiness," "National Honour." When the print is seen from the back the real gun is visible in its carriage. Napoleon is applying the fuse, and bullets are being fired at the holy cross of the Allies, from which

[1] Another of these transparencies, "The Great Cæsar," appeared on Jan. 1, 1815. By holding it up to the light a silhouette of Napoleon is seen behind a picture of the Devil.

[2] See Dr. J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. pp. 389–392, 409–412, also pp. 402–403.

THE FIREBRAND

a streak of lightning flashes forth and strikes Napoleon. In "The Last Dance" Napoleon is tormented by devils of ferocious mien, who apply pincers to his nose, but it lacks altogether the artistic qualities of "The Victory of Brienne." [1]

The caricature etching by F. M. B. relates to the action of February 1. On one side of a fence are half-a-dozen French soldiers of the Young Guard saluting a Prussian general on the other side. Napoleon is riding off on the right with artillery. Burning buildings in the background.

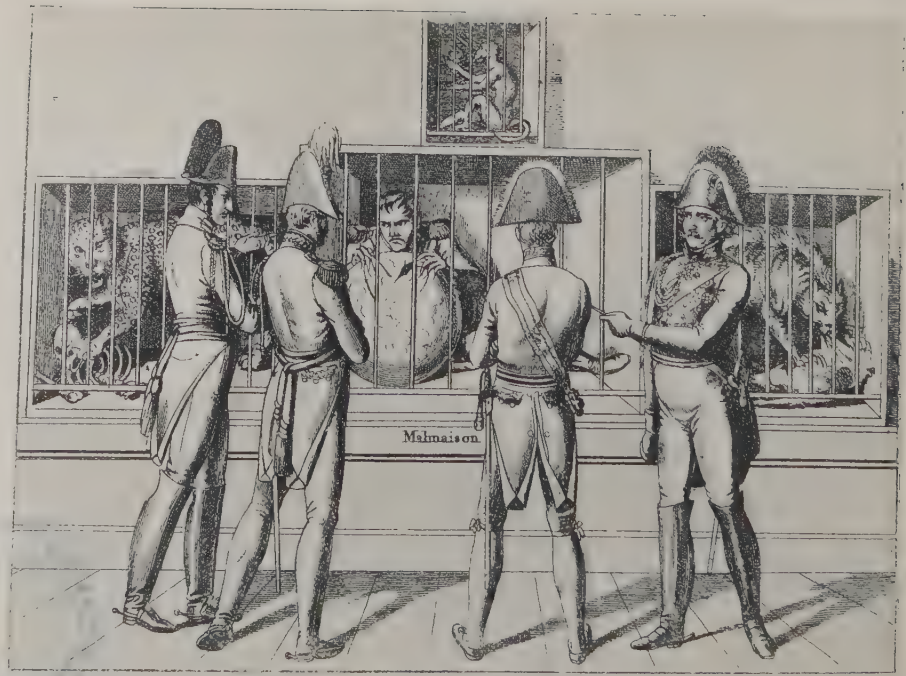
Another of the caricature puzzle-pictures is entitled "I am named Cerberus." Although it measures only five inches in length by four in breadth, it contains an amount of minute and interesting detail which renders it probably the most curious print of the kind in existence. On a segment of the under-world, marked "Lethe," "Styx," "Pyriphlegeton," "Thele-graph," &c., and showing a shadowed portrait of Frederick the Great, stands a huge boarhound in the act of gnawing a human skull. His fore-paws rest on a beam marked "Term." His lips are lettered "Daru," his ears *Douaniers* and *Gendarmerie!* His toes form the names Rapp, Victor, Davoust, and Van-damme, and his tail, disclosing a profile-head of Napoleon, is lettered "Prate-or." The hind-leg, marked "Van-damme," is firmly fastened to a heavy chain, held firmly by a hand displayed in the top right-hand corner, which also grasps a whip lettered "for Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen."

[1] On Jan. 29, 1814, among the scenes of his school-days, Napoleon attacked Blücher to prevent the junction of the army of Silesia with that of Schwarzenberg farther south. The Prussians were driven from the town, but three days later Schwarzenberg turned the tables on Napoleon. Napoleon was greatly discouraged by his reverse.

On the wall at the back is a mock trophy inscribed "Victory of Leipzic 20 Trop he!" and, at the top, "Vici." The trophy consists of a pitchfork and scythe crossed over a rake. Tattered garments are suspended from them. A strip of linen is lettered *Drapeau* and on the scythe are the words "19 October 1813"—the date of the Battle of Leipzic. Two human arms stretching out right and left are lettered "Veni" and "Vidi." To the right a bearded figure, crowned with a fool's-cap, supports the picture of a monkey, above which are the words *Pasquinus eram*, and below "Der Nachstecher" (The Imitator). Under the picture is a group of masks from which an arrow is directed at the imperial sceptre, some branches of laurel, and a reversed military eagle, all of which are grouped over the spot marked "Lethe." From the mysterious hand hangs down two padlocks, one of which is lettered "Pariser kauft." At the top right-hand corner is the cross-star of the Allies, from which proceed towards the dog Napoleon the words "Behold of Ahab will I also root out ——." On either side forked lightning and thunderbolts, having the same objective, form the easily-recognisable profiles of Wellington, Blücher, Bulow, and Bernadotte. Below runs the following inscription: "I am Cerberus; I also am Chameleon; when heated I change colour," with the date "Anno 1814 1 B and K 21 22." A further inscription states that "the print can be obtained of the makers, Henschel Brothers and Werder, No. 4 Rosen Strasse, Berlin."

The caricature "Blowing Bubbles," now reproduced, had at least one variation in Germany and is common to both

[1] *Cf.* "The Newest Policy of Napoleon," *ante*, p. 126.



Das neue Elba.

Hier stille sich die Blutbegier,
Die sich erschöpfen sollte!
Gefangen ist das wilde Thier,
Das Welten fressen wollte.
Nun wird's in der Menagerie
Ein ganz geschlachtes, zahmes Vieh,
Das nicht mehr erkanniret.

Dann, wird es auch herum geführt
Ein Afflein auf dem Rücken,
Das schlau die Bronen schon berührt
Um sie einst zu zerstücken.
Allein da unten steht ein Mann
Der solche Thiere zähmen kann!
Er heißt — kennt Ihrs errathen?

France and Italy.[1] Seated on a stool, Napoleon blows bubbles for the amusement of his son, who stands before him with uplifted arms. The principal bubbles are lettered "Spain," "Naples," "Westphalia," "Italy," "Rome," and "The Great Empire." Below are the words "Thus vanishes fancied world-empire." In "The Great Gravedigger" Napoleon is depicted as seated, bare-headed, and holding a sexton's spade. Skulls and human bones are scattered at his feet. A hyena and wolf are scavenging amongst them. One memorial cross is marked "Pius VII.," and another "Enghien." Death, attired in a blue mantle ornamented with lilies, gazes intently at Napoleon, behind whom are the figures of Envy, Hatred, and War. "Napoleon in the Hands of the Physicians" is a trifle less gruesome in its conception. Napoleon is now the sick man of Europe, to whom Prussia applies a blister, with the assistance of England and the Allies. L. Schlemer of Nuremberg is the publisher of "First Love."[2] Napoleon, in a military uniform, holds a halberd to which is fixed a tricolour cap. The full title is "Old Love never rusts." "The great Eagle made to moult," reproduced as an illustration, is another example of a theme which had been frequently utilised by English caricaturists since 1802. A grotesque figure in a domed cage represents the moulting eagle, at whose wings the generals of England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden are now remorselessly tugging through the bars. The ground is strewn with the imperial feathers.

Napoleon's exile to Elba provided an abundance of

[1] See Appendices D, 30, and F, 5 and 6.

[2] This probably suggested the French caricature bearing the same title. See Appendix D, No. 108.

new topics for the German caricaturists. In "Napoleon and the Forget-me-not" the fallen Emperor is depicted in the act of boarding a boat which is to convey him to the vessel bound for Porto Ferrajo. A Cossack, followed by a he-goat with a bough in its mouth, plucks him by the coat-skirts and offers him a sprig of forget-me-not. The attendants look on in astonishment. Below is the following text: "As Napoleon was embarking for Elba a Cossack, belonging to the escort given him by the Allies, came forward and said: 'Great Emperor, take with you the he-goat you shot in Russia,[1] and do not reject the forget-me-not I hand you. Indeed, you will not need it, for in your coming solitude you will think of us without its help; yet it may serve you for a token of victory of your last campaign.' His Majesty looked with disfavour upon the jest; still the goat followed him faithfully to Elba, where there is abundance of forget-me-not as well."

The caricature "Step-ladder of Napoleon's Rise and Fall" must have enjoyed considerable popularity, as it exists in different varieties. In that now reproduced we have a pile of vaulted masonry cut out in steps. Below the central arch is a view of the sea and Napoleon seated beneath a tree, looking through a spy-glass at a fragment of a map, marked "Elba," handed to him by Time. He exclaims: "Alas, how small is my Empire!" The steps have each a figure of Napoleon at the various stages of his career; they are labelled "Corsican Boy," "Military Scholar," "Soldier of Fortune at Paris," "General," "First Consul," "Emperor of the French,"

[1] *Cf.* "A Lucky Hunter," *ante*, p. 116, for an explanation of the double meaning of the expression to "shoot a goat."

"Departure from Spain," "Retreat from Moscow," "Farewell to Germany," "End." In the last vignette of the variant, "Buonaparte's Stuffenjahre" (Climacteric Years of Buonaparte), a Cossack and some German soldiers thrust Napoleon into a boat, the scene being lettered "Fall in France." In the central arch Napoleon reclines beneath a willow, a scroll on the ground beside him bearing the inscription, *Sic transit gloria mundi;* above him rise a number of bubbles[1] lettered "Italy," "Spain," and so forth. In the variant "Napoleon's Stuffenjahre" the central arch is filled by a view of Napoleon meditating beneath a tree, a large roll of paper lying beside him bearing at the top the words "The Great Empire," and at the bottom "Island of Elba." Nearly the whole of the figures differ from those in the caricature now reproduced, as well as from those in "The Climacteric Years of Buonaparte." "Napoleon Fishing" is another of the German prints relating to the Elban episode in Napoleon's career. It was published by C. Riedel of Nuremberg. The exile sits on a rock, with Rustan standing behind him holding a basket. His rod bends almost to breaking under the weight of a net containing the crown, eagles, Code Napoleon, and laurel wreaths, which he has lost. The full title is "Napoleon's Fishing Expedition in the Isle of Elba. O! woe! they are lost!"

The fine aquatint caricature, "The 'Victory of the Brandenburg Gate' Returning Home," is specially interesting, as the bronze quadriga placed over it had been designed by J. G. Schadow, who is very possibly the author of the print, in which the Roman quadriga driven

[1] *Cf.* "Blowing Bubbles," *ante*, pp. 128–129.

by the figure of Prussian Victory is seen returning to the Brandenburg Gate amidst popular acclamations. To the back of the car four broken-down horses are harnessed and are being whipped by Napoleon, who vainly tries to drive the chariot backwards towards Paris. The face of Napoleon bears a strong resemblance to Schadow's well-known sketches of him. Three officers, one of whom holds an Eagle, look on from the side-path.[1]

"The Firebrand," now reproduced, is one of the numerous German caricatures issued after Napoleon's return to France in March 1815. It is sufficiently explained by the text underneath it, which runs as follows: "Buonaparte landed on March 1, 1815, at Cannes in France, once more to brandish the torch of war over the Earth. By means of revolutionary proclamations, he seduced a part of the army to break its oath of allegiance to their rightful King and instilled fear into the peaceful better-minded citizens. But the firm will and united strength of Europe soon rose against him and threw the ruin, which he had prepared for other lands, upon himself and his following." That Napoleon must have still had some sympathisers in Germany is evident from "The Puzzle Violets," published early in 1815, by Reutlingen, from the design of J. H. Ankele. In the sepia print, "Vain Efforts—Final Reward," Atlas is depicted as supporting the world on the top of a chair. Napoleon falls from a broken ladder, and on a stone close by is a house of playing-cards inscribed "Universal Monarchy." "La Belle Alliance" belongs chronologically to June 1815. Its chief feature is a huge map showing

[1] The group in question, which Napoleon had carried off to Paris, was sent back to Berlin in 1814 by Blücher.

the position of Paris, Orleans, Lyons, Mayence, Frankfort, &c. A crowd of fugitives nears Paris, and Napoleon, coming behind them, turns round, and raises his sword as he looks at two foreign soldiers who are sweeping away the French troops with brooms. Below are the following verses :—

The Prussian loq.

Quick, comrade, sweep this nest of toads !
Your besom ! or they'll turn us !
Here's one old worthy thrusts and hacks !
We'll send him to Avernus !

The Englishman loq.

Gad ! he shows fight ! He's light as air !
I'll prod him to the Devil !
In hell the pair 'midst human blood
With Carnot's self can revel !

There is a second caricature entitled " La Belle Alliance pour balayer la France," in which we see Napoleon standing on the last rung of a ladder held up by sappers of the Old Guard. With haggard eyes and drawn face he scans the distant engagement through a spy-glass. A general carries decrees and proclamations from Laeken ; [1] others study a map of Holland lying on the ground. Below are the words : " His Imperial Majesty Napoleon the Great, on his most high newly-discovered Observatory at the Battle of La Belle Alliance (Waterloo), on June 18, 1815." Then come the verses :—

" Hold up the ladder, lest he fall ;
And, fallen, go declaring
That he quite freely left his throne
For his Young Hopeful's chairing !

[1] Napoleon had prepared a decree to be issued from the palace of Laeken, near Brussels, where he hoped to dine on the evening of June 18. He had twice previously stayed there, and it was at Laeken the expedition to Russia was finally decided on. The old building was burned down in 1890, but has been restored on its ancient lines.

The ladder stands : his army's plight
There is no further screening.
Henceforth his acts and edicts bear
Mere figurative meaning."

"Bonaparte's Cowardly Flight," "French Allegiance," and "Hares in Flight" form part of a series of caricature outline etchings published by Frederick Campe at Nuremberg during the brief crisis of April to July 1815. Below the last-named are three verses, which may be rendered as follows :—

"There was a self-styled Hero brave
Who knew, said he, no turning :
By Leipsic's field he leg-bail gave
Because—a bridge was burning !

There was a proud resistless troop
That marched with brassy blares out :
They heard the Cossack's fire and whoop
And—soon were wiped as hares out !

And now the whole world laughs and claps,
The Course of Things is smiling
At yon great Hare-realm's sad collapse—
You've found the joke beguiling !"

L. Schlemer, a rival of Campe at Nuremberg, was responsible for "The Little Emperor," in which Napoleon, with ass's ears, is depicted as sitting on a heap of breaking earthenware. He cries for help, and officers, similarly adorned, fly to his assistance. Below are the lines :—

"Nap, the petty Emperor, by his brigands furthered,
Grabbed the throne again, having lied and murthered.
Hear him, now despair follows hocus-pocus :
'Wherefore did we do it ? Waterloo hath broke us !'"

The caricature, "The Landing of the Boulogne Flotilla," and the verses which explain it, will be found

in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England.*[1] Campe published a satirical print on the same lines, but minus the donkey's ears. It is entitled "Napoleon Buonaparte and his Followers in the Power of the English." "The New Elba" is yet another example of the use of the cage idea already often referred to.[2] Napoleon is confined in a cage lettered derisively "Malmaison." He is still endeavouring to devour a globe. In a small cage above him is a monkey. The den to the right is tenanted by a tiger, while a hyena occupies that on the left. Below are the following lines :—

THE NEW ELBA

The lust of blood that quenchless raged
Here finds a quick quietus.
The wild beast now at last is caged,
That threatened all to eat us.
And in this strange menagerie
A tamed and beaten brute you see
Whose slyness won't defeat us.

And when the beast was here despatched,
An ape was on his shoulders.
The crown he wore it went and snatched
And with it charms beholders.
A Man who knows well how to tame
Such brutes is standing there—his name
The St.-Jean cannons told us.

"The Star of Katzbach"[3] is a large broadside in which a drawing by Raabe, etched by Wachsmann, illustrates a poem by Clement Brentano and published by Gaspar Weiss & Co. of Berlin. In the centre Blücher

[1] Vol. ii. p. 310.

[2] *Cf.* "The Great Eagle made to Moult," vol. i. pp. 358, 362, vol. ii. p. 3.

[3] This alludes to Blücher's successful engagements with Macdonald, Aug. 26 to Sept. 1, 1813, in the valleys of the Katzbach, which freed Silesia from the foe.

and Wellington are talking on horseback. On the right are the staff-officers. On the left an orderly is galloping up with a despatch-box and a hat in his hands. In the bottom corner a hare (Napoleon) is seen taking refuge in a broken drum marked with the initial "N." On either side of the picture are printed eighteen verses, telling the main points of the defeat of Waterloo: how Napoleon held the *Champ de Mai;* how he put on his green coat and determined to beat the Allies, and was beaten instead; how a trooper brought his box containing his jewels and orders to Blücher, who had them sent to the King, his master. Blücher and Wellington then exchange opinions, and the latter laughingly says that their best quarters would be the bed left warm by Napoleon. Blücher jocularly asks: "What's the betting that *he* is lying on thistles and thorns and dreaming that I am in bed with him and pricking him with my spurs?" He ends up by praising his officers Gneisenau, Scharnhorst, and others; and the last verse accords him the title of "Marshal Forwards." Every verse has the following chorus:—

> "Napoleon in his folly said:
> 'The sun which shines upon my head
> Is that of Austerlitz's Victory.'
> But Blücher saw the storm afar
> And spoke 'There rises Katzbach's star!
> St. Jean will be his valley-dictory!'"

Caricatures like "The New Coronation" and "Jest and Earnest in Paris" demand no detailed notice, but "A Small Game for Two Giants" is curious, as the idea is manifestly adapted from a work of George Cruikshank's which was also reproduced in France.[1] Blücher and

[1] See Appendices A and D.

Wellington are volleying to and fro a tiny Napoleon feathered as a shuttle-cock. Below are the following verses :—

"In yon abnormal fowl that flies
To while the Giant's leisure,
Behold the griffin's shape and size,
Whose talons preyed at pleasure.
No more he'll swoop 'pon countless strands!
A shuttle-cock in hero-hands
He courses through the azure.

Like lot assails in woeful sort
Such Power as merely wasteth,
Its own or alien Passion's sport
Nor rest nor truce it tasteth;
But strays athwart Life's Map in vain
To frenzied death-dreams—or again
To wheel and gibbet hasteth!"

In "Mankind's Path of Culture" Napoleon is seen standing with arms extended. Above him hang crosses of the Legion of Honour, at his feet a crowd of men in uniform bow obsequiously, and stretch forth their hands in solicitation. Sacks are lettered "Contributions," "Endowments," and "Primogenitures." Below are two verses :—

"The furious hate of foreign blood upraises
A universal realm by murder won.
At Philip's son's a Corsican appraises
His worth, and dies ere life be wholly done.

And once again his fierce career he urges
And down he's hurled after his lofty climb!
About his fall men's clamour wilder surges
To find an echo on the strand of Time."

"The Fearful Robber's Nest" is a puzzle-caricature by J. M. Voltz. At first sight this appears to be a view

of a ruined castle into which robbers are carrying their booty. If the reproduction is carefully studied the rugged masonry forms the profile of Napoleon, standing out in relief against the sky. The full title of the caricature is "The Fearful Robber's Nest, or The Ruins of the Great Imperial Castle in the Universal Monarchy." A variation of this caricature is the lithograph by Joseph Bayer, "The Rocky Castle at St. Helena." In this the robbers are replaced by English soldiery.

The caricatures "Hellenic Wisdom," "Napoleon's Day at St. Helena," "The Little Court," "The Most Heroic Exploit of the Nineteenth Century," and "Old Love Never Rusts, or Occupation of the Great Man on the Little Isle of Rats, St. Helena," all deal with the abnormal number of rats which it was alleged infested Napoleon's last place of exile.[1] The same theme found favour in the eyes of both English and French caricaturists from the end of 1815 onwards. Rats also figure conspicuously in "The New Robinson Crusoe," which was derived from a French original having reference to Elba.[2] In the German print reproduced Napoleon is depicted in the traditional garb of Robinson Crusoe. He is seated on a drum inscribed: "The thing sounds no more." Over his right shoulder is a parti-coloured umbrella surmounted by an Imperial eagle, and bearing in Latin the words: "Under the shade of thy wings." Strapped to his back is a pair of bellows lettered: "The second half of my life." He is surrounded by rats, some of which are nibbling at the discarded orb and sceptre lying on the ground. Other rats are trying to climb up

[1] See Appendices A and D for references to rats.
[2] See *ante*, ch. xix. p. 56.

Der neue Robinson auf der einsamen Ratten Insel im Süd-Meere St. Helena genannt.

THE NEW ROBINSON CRUSOE

Napoleons Traum

to his wallet. To the fur cap is fixed a tricolour cockade. A parrot perched on a paling says :—

"Nap, poor Nap, in a night-cap!
Where hast thou left thy saucy hat?"

Napoleon replies :—

"Ah, hat and sword, crown and sceptre,
All were lost at Waterloo!"

The German St. Helena plate was in turn made the subject of a French adaptation.

In Appendix E will be found tabulated the Napoleonic caricatures adapted from the English originals which appeared in *London-Paris* and its continuations between 1798 and 1815. In the majority of cases the details of the English print are carefully followed, but in some instances additions and alterations are made. In the "Game at Chess" (Appendix A, No. 382, January 9, 1802) a vignette picture, "The Dawn of Happiness," is introduced. "The Flying Sword Run Mad" (Plate XIII.) is adapted from Gillray's "Maniac Ravings" (Appendix A, No. 560, May 24, 1803), but instead of the body of "Little Boney" we have only his head, forming part of a huge notched sword with tricolour wings, over which flutters the Gallic Cock. In addition to the copy of Gillray's "Political Dreamings" (Appendix A, No. 715, November 9, 1801), which forms Plates XXII.–XXIII. of *London-Paris*, we find in the same publication a free adaptation of it which is entitled "Napoleon's Dream," and must have appeared in 1809–10, when the review was published at Halle under the designation of *Paris-Vienna-London*. The Emperor is a prey to a

nightmare: at the bed-head is the Eagle bearing a branch of laurel and crying "O! Woe! Woe!" In a mass of clouds on either side appear decapitated men with lists of his victims, "Villeneuve," "Enghien," "Hofer," "Palm," "Schill," "100,000 men sacrificed in battle"; a guillotine and flames; Death on stilts; a demon playing the guitar and singing "*Ça Ira!*" and an armed peasant saying "Away with that laurel! thou profanest it as the firebrand of an incendiary! Thy reward awaits thee on this side and on that!" On the ground are a cash-box of English notes, human-headed rats, Acts of the Rhenish Confederation, the Code Napoleon and other miscellanea. "The Kitchen Below, or Beelzebub going to Supper" (Plates XIX.–XX.), is an adaptation of Gillray's well-known caricature, "The Corsican Pest" (Appendix A, No. 230, October 6, 1803). In the German version a huge cock, wearing a Phrygian cap and holding the Roman fasces in its claw, replaces the body of Bonaparte on the toasting-fork of the Evil One. Two imps are plucking out the bird's feathers, while a third bastes it with brimstone. A wine-cooler contains bottles of "favourite French wines" inscribed *Sang des Suisses*, *Sang des Anglais*, and *Sang des Hollandais*. The Devil and his attendants all wear Phrygian caps, while Satan himself has donned a tricolour sash. Nearly the whole of the original English lettering is retained. Curiously enough, these prints, which doubtless exercised considerable influence in Central Europe during the Consulate and the earlier years of the Empire, while the spell of Napoleon remained unbroken, are often regarded as mere English counterfeits. If Germany owed much to England between 1798 and 1811 in the matter of pictorial

satire against Napoleon, she, to a great extent, discharged her debt of gratitude to us in 1813–15, when both countries formed part of the last great Coalition which finally crushed Napoleon. The "corpse-head" of Johann Michael Voltz was a caricature after Gillray's own heart, but in 1814 the hand of that great master had lost its cunning. Probably the "Triumph of the year 1813" in its endless varieties ranks as the best known of all the caricatures ever directed against the "Hated Corsican."

CHAPTER XXIII

NAPOLEON IN ITALIAN AND SPANISH CARICATURES

"Italy, isolated between her natural limits, is destined to form a great and powerful nation."—*Napoleon.*

"Dal braccio vostro, almi Sovrani attende
Italia assassinata un pronto ajuto,
Che un giusto sdegno i vostri cori accende
Contro un barbaro genio risoluto."
—*Italian poem of* 1799.

"Naught against them bring the unpractised foe
Save hearts for Freedom's cause, and hand for Freedom's blow."
—Sir W. Scott, *On the Spanish Irregulars of* 1808.

"Napoléon (tronando
Soná la voz); en dónde
La magestad augusta de Fernando
Tu perfidia escondió? traidor, responde
Dal que llamáste hermano,
Tu buscó grande, y te encontró villano."
—*Spanish Patriotic Song of* 1808–10.

IF the satirical prints relating to Napoleon published in the two Latin peninsulas are in a very marked degree numerically inferior to those of England and France, they certainly possess many features of artistic originality and historical interest. It was in Italy, the birthplace of the European *caricatura,* where rude attempts at this kind of ridicule more than twenty centuries old are perpetuated by the *graffiti* on the walls of Pompeii and the Roman catacombs, that some of the earliest caricatures on the subject of Bonaparte's military achievements of 1796 made their appear-

ance. It was not till the following year that a campaign of pictorial satire against the victorious general began, almost contemporaneously in England and Switzerland. The caricatures of this period were, however, few in number, and are now, as Dr. Achille Bertarelli points out,[1] exceedingly difficult to obtain. The conqueror of Northern Italy had no sooner reached Milan (May 16, 1796) than he put down his heel firmly on any disposition to belittle his authority, by caricature or otherwise. He may have laughed (as Las Cases tells us he did) at the productions of Gillray and Rowlandson, because he could not by any possibility control their actions or put a bridle on their scurrility. It was not so in Italy. To possess a caricature against Napoleon while the procession of victory continued would have been perilous in the extreme. The making of them was quite out of the question. It was not till Napoleon had turned his back for a while on the scenes of his early triumphs, and was busily engaged in what he was pleased to call the regeneration of Egypt, that the Italian artists once more displayed the courage of their opinions. That their exertions were stimulated by the temporary successes of the Allies there can be no doubt. It was apparently considered safe in 1798 and 1799 to portray Bonaparte as a mummy and make fun of the great French naval disaster in Aboukir Bay. The second period of Napoleonic caricature in Venice, Milan, and Reveredo was of brief duration. In May 1800 the First Consul crossed the Alps, and on June 16 the battle of Marengo laid Northern Italy once more at his feet.

During twelve long years there was a complete cessa-

[1] *Bollettina della Società Bibliografica Italiana.* Milan. December 1898.

tion of Italian pictorial satire on Napoleon. It required the Russian disasters of 1812 and the German victories of 1813 to once more rouse the dormant spirit of Italian patriotism against the Dictator. While the Spaniards struggled for freedom in 1808 and 1809, the predominant feeling in Italy was of a nerveless egotism which found expression in the saying *Viva Francia e Spagna—Pur che nun se magna*.[1] It was at this juncture that Carlo Porta summed up "the vile quiescence of those unfortunate times" by introducing into a sonnet the expression that Italy "was bound to carry a pack-saddle."

Between 1800 and 1812 Italy burned incense perpetually and profusely at the altar of Napoleonic adoration. He had been extolled to the skies in countless odes and ingeniously devised acrostics, while great artists, like Longhi, Appiani, Morghen, and Rados, devoted their talents to designing a whole series of classical apotheoses in his honour. The firmness of the Emperor and King was emulated successfully by his stepson and Viceroy, and no discordant note was heard until misfortune dogged the steps of the man whom Italy had come to regard as omnipotent. In 1814 and 1815, however, public opinion awoke from its long lethargy. All that Napoleon had done for Italy, both as a legislator and administrator, was ignored, and during the third and last period of Italian anti-Napoleonic caricature no engine of pictorial satire was base enough for the vilification of the man who had hitherto been lauded almost as a divinity. Not only was there a wholesale impor-

[1] "Long live France and Spain, on account of which nobody puts himself out" (*lit.* "We do not eat each other").

ITALY'S ENTREATY. 1799

tation of the "corpse-heads," "Bonapartes-in-wax," "Rhenish Couriers,"[1] and other prints of kindred nature, from Berlin and elsewhere, but native talent improvised fresh forms for the chastisement of the exile to Elba and of the conquered at Waterloo. The rancour of Italy towards the vanquished was as bitter as that of Holland, Spain, or uprisen Germany.

The battles of Piacenza and Lodi were won on May 7 and 10, 1796. Immediately afterwards appeared the aquatint "Beaulieu on the Po," in which the Austrian Marshal is made to ride a cray-fish, while Bonaparte, on the other side of the river, is seen urging his troops to complete their victory.[2] Below are six lines of verse :—

BEAULIEU TO THE PO

I quit you, thrice-ungrateful banks,
Bereft of honour, fame, and thanks.
I beg you, kindless Fates, allow
Such dubious bays to leave my brow ;
And let more gracious gods above
My flight direct through paths of love !

Dr. Bertarelli says that no sooner had the French entered Milan than the Baron de Gros, who afterwards became famous for his picture of Napoleon at the Bridge of Arcola, drew a caricature of the Austrian Archduke, of which no less than 20,000 were sold. It was not till February 1797 that the fall of Mantua, after a prolonged resistance, gave rise to the caricature the "Interment of Mantua," in which we have a burlesque procession

[1] Dr. Achille Bertarelli, *Bollettino delle Società Bibliografica Italiana*, No. 12, 1898, pp. 188–89.

[2] In 1799 a similar caricature was published in Bavaria on Marshal Jourdan, with the Biblical quotation *Et tu, Jordanus, quia conversus es retrorsum.*

headed by Wurmser on a broken-down horse followed by Father Valentino and others, carrying the corpse of the captured city. Over the bier the Gallic cock (Bonaparte) crows loudly above the cowering Austrian eagle.[1] There are two prints of this period relating to the Treaty of Campo Formio,[2] entitled "The Reckoning." Napoleon and the Archduke Charles are seen seated in a carriage on the point of quitting an inn after signing the treaty. The following colloquy is supposed to take place. The landlord asks: "Who is going to pay?" Bonaparte replies: "It is not my turn." Prince Charles says: "I have no money." Pantaloon, who wears the popular Venetian mask and stands at the back of the carriage, exclaims: "*Amigo, pago mi*" (the Venetian equivalent of "My friend, I shall pay"). This, of course, is intended to satirise the arrangement by which Venice was handed over to France. The introduction of Prince Charles is somewhat puzzling, as Austria was represented in the negotiations by the Marquis del Gallo, Mervelt, and Cobenzl.[3] There is another version of this caricature with the words *All' Encroyable* (a curious compound of Italian and French) below it, and the obviously absurd lettering, *A Paris chez les marchands d'Estampes.* Dr. Bertarelli thinks these prints are of Venetian origin, because a similar one appeared at Venice in 1814, when the Austrians got the upper hand. In the third print a gondolier takes the place of the Pantaloon of 1797. About this time another caricature, "The Giantess,"

[1] *Cf.* "Arrival of the Duke of Cambridge at the Court of his Father," ch. xix.

[2] Signed Oct. 17, 1797.

[3] The publisher of this plate was Cosimo Binde in the Contrada del Cappello, Milan.

THE USURPER'S MEAL. 1799

seems to emphasise Bonaparte's success. Followed by a troop of Lilliputian warriors he plants his flag on the head of the prostrate woman, whose body is that of a female dog, and who is probably intended to symbolise the tyranny of Austria or Venice. Several caricatures were published under French auspices in Milan against the Venetians. One of these is entitled, in French, "The Bad Master becomes Servant."[1] Bonaparte and his generals are dining at a table of which the principal ornament is a classical statue of Liberty. In a corner the Venetian lion is gnawing the bones thrown to it by the guests.

The battle of the Nile was fought on August 1, 1798. Towards the end of that year appeared two caricatures dealing with the subject, viz., "Buonaparte made Prisoner by the Valorous Nelson in Candian Waters" and "Buonaparte Surrendering his Sword to the Dying Nelson." Rarely have a larger number of glaring inaccuracies ever appeared in a single print than in the last named. The artist mixed up Nelson with Brueys, and neither Bonaparte nor Berthier (who is depicted as present) had anything to do with the engagement. To the end of 1798 or the beginning of 1799 belongs the finely-executed coloured engraving, "The Mummy,"[2] in which we see Bonaparte about to be screwed down in a wooden case, while two other French generals are being prepared for the same awful fate. It was evident that in Italy, at any rate, the return of Bonaparte to Europe was regarded as impossible. This belief explains

[1] See *Iconografia Napoleonica*, 1796–1799, by Dr. Achille Bertarelli, p. 36.

[2] See *Bolletino della Società Bibliografica Italiana*, No. 12, pp. 184–85, where the caricature "Na Poleone Bonaparte Mummia" is reproduced.

such caricatures as " Bonaparte in a Cage," " The Quack," " The Hanged Cock," " The Goddess in Triumph," and " The French Examined." [1]

Dr. Achille Bertarelli describes another set of small folio caricatures of this epoch which all relate indirectly to Bonaparte and the French. They bear such suggestive titles as " The Fanatical Republican," " The Astounded and Desperate Democrat," " Indigestion of the French Commissioners," " Patriotism," and the " Patriot Women Journeying to Hell." The latter is reproduced in the *Bolletino della Societd Bibliografica Italiana*, already referred to. Below it are twelve lines of verse.

Early in 1799 the Austrians defeated the French in numerous engagements. The victories of Kray and Suwarrow, in March and April, brought about, as might be expected, a recrudescence of anti-Napoleonic caricatures, many of them, as Dr. Achille Bertarelli points out, the work of artists of eminence, such as Pietro Buratti and Lamberti at Venice and Parini at Milan. Of these, " Italy's Entreaty," now reproduced, is a good example. To the left below a tent are seated four female figures, representing Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, with their armorial bearings displayed on shields above them. On one side Mars and on the other Justice extend wreaths over their heads. At their feet kneels Italy, holding a petition inscribed " Religion," " Honour," and " Misery." To the extreme right the jaws of an enormous dragon vomit forth flames, into which a Fury is scourging Bonaparte, who carries a tree of Liberty,

[1] These prints are fully described by Dr. Achille Bertarelli in his invaluable *Iconografia Napoleonica*, pp. 64–65. The present writer has ventured to supply appropriate titles to the two first-mentioned plates. All these caricatures are of Venetian origin.

II—149

four of the French Directors and four other men, all laden with the spoils of Italy. From a trumpet in the sky come the words: "This is the trumpet of death, not of war." Bonaparte says: "This tree was for me an ugly game. For my sins a single hell is all too little." Below are eight lines of verse, of which the following is Mr. Watson's rendering:—

"Your instant help, ye gracious Powers,
Italia craves in depths of woe,
While righteous wrath within you lowers
Against her stern and savage foe.

Behold, upon the hosts of Gaul
The Lord of Hell his judgment rains;
The godless malefactors fall;
And Europe faith and peace regains."

Quite as interesting is the caricature to which the writer has given the title of "The Impious Lodge," from the first words of the twelve lines of verse below it. It is anonymous, but bears the date "Roveredo, August 1799." Dr. Achille Bertarelli[1] says there are twelve of these Roveredo plates duly numbered, of which eight are in honour of the Allies and four against the Masonic Lodges. There is no number on the copy of this print in possession of the writer. Suwarrow had defeated the French at Trebia on 17–19 June. In July Alessandria was taken, and on August 15 (Napoleon's thirtieth birthday) Suwarrow won the battle of Novi. This caricature pays homage to the Allies, but at the same time (in the opinion of the writer) it was intended to attack the Freemasons—and Bonaparte, whose already sufficiently familiar hat may be seen in the extreme

[1] *Bolletino*, p. 185.

lower right-hand corner. From the date of his return from Egypt Napoleon took Freemasonry under his wing. As Protector of the Order he was able to place the Grand Mastership first in the hands of his brother Joseph and then in those of Cambacérès. He is supposed to have been initiated into the Brotherhood at Malta,[1] but it is quite possible he may have joined it at Milan or elsewhere in 1797. The vigour with which the Freemasons were attacked in these Italian caricatures of 1799, and the manner in which they seem to have been associated with the French in this curious series of prints, induce the writer to favour the latter supposition.[2] To the left are drawn up a row of soldiers. In the centre is a pyramid composed of seven figures, the upper four resting on the shoulders of three Masonic dignitaries wearing their distinctive jewels of office. The two forming the second tier are bareheaded, and are dressed in French uniforms of blue faced with red. They alone carry swords, and may very possibly represent Bonaparte and Berthier. The hat of the former has already been alluded to. The sixth man supported by them appears to be a priest, and on his shoulders stands a female holding out the

[1] See Dr. J. Holland Rose's Introduction to *A History of Malta during the Period of the French and British Occupations*, 1798–1815, by W. Hardman, p. xvii.

[2] From the early days of the nineteenth century Napoleon closely associated himself with the fortunes of French Freemasonry, using the influence of the Order for all it was worth. His profile appears on Masonic aprons and other insignia. The Grand Orient of France was presided over in succession by Joseph Bonaparte and Cambacérès. There were Lodges at Paris known under the designations of "St. Napoléon" and "St. Josephine," and the Empress was spoken of as a *sœur intime*. Portraits of both Napoleon and Josephine show them wearing the aprons and sashes of the Fraternity. Many of those associated with Napoleon in the campaigns of 1796-97 belonged to the "Lodge St. Napoléon," of which Lacépède was Master. Amongst the members were Murat, Kellermann, Brune, Masséna, and Admiral Gantheaume.

THE WAXWORK BONAPARTE. 1814

II—151

Cap of Liberty on a pole. The pyramid seems to be on the point of collapsing at the sight of a Fury advancing towards it in a threatening manner. The lines below may be rendered as follows :—

"From out their godless Lodge's foul retreat
Freemasons loomed awhile ; and on deceit
Upreared a fabric whose far-bruited boast
Served as a magnet for the Frankish host.

These vaunted champions of the struggling thrall
Dispensed a 'Freedom' that was steeped in gall ;
Wherewith their leader, as he lost his sway,
A crumbling Folk-rule vainly thought to stay.

And lo ! the wrath of vengeful Heaven lowers
To nerve the sword-arm of the banded Powers :
Franks and Freemasons, wrecked and sore distressed,
Are headlong hurled into Alecto's breast !"

The power of caricature was evidently fully recognised by the Allies at this epoch, quite as much as by their opponents. A large caricature published at Milan has the same date as the preceding. On one side are seen four starved and ragged Frenchmen disputing over a frog, surrounded by the emblems of misery and anarchy, while on the other four well-dressed and contented peasants are enjoying a hearty meal of roast beef and plum-pudding, an open window affording a pleasant prospect of a corn-field and a heavily laden apple-tree. On the floor are bottles of Tokay and Madeira. The Frenchmen have to put up with a broken pitcher of water. On the walls of the prosperous cottage are a number of suggestive inscriptions, such as "Abundance and joy are found here," "Long live the Emperor, and all the Sovereigns," "May God support legiti-

mate authority, and He who obeys his prince, obeys God."

The original source of this print is certainly English, for numerous prints on similar lines appeared in London, between 1795 and 1805, and the fare on the table savours rather of Suffolk or Somerset than of the plains of Lombardy. Below is an inscription in doggerel verse.

Dr. Bertarelli ascribes the caricature "The Usurper's Meal," now reproduced, to the period of the Austro-Russian Lombardian successes of 1799, and the political reaction which followed them. He also believes it was published at Milan. If this is the case, it is just possible that the Italian print suggested the various English versions of the same theme.[1] In this caricature we see Bonaparte with unkempt hair, at which an eagle perched on the nape of his neck pecks threateningly, vainly endeavouring to swallow the world, shaped like an enormous orb. Below in Italian are the rhyming lines:—

"Thy strength, Usurper, may be doubled,
But he who over-eats is troubled."

It must not be forgotten that the eagle is one-headed, and that the orb is significant of the Empire rather than the Consulate. These considerations suggest to the present writer that the print may, after all, belong to the years 1813–14 when Prussia measured her strength with Napoleon.

In "L'Italia nei Cento Anni del Secolo XIX., 1801–1900, giorno per giorno illustrata,"[2] a fine symbolical print is

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] By Alfred Commandini. Milan. Antonio Vallardi, 1900–1901. See p. lxi.

reproduced from the collection of Dr. Bertarelli in which the contest then in progress between the will of the People and that of the Sovereign is cleverly portrayed by the old simile of a balance resting on the globe. The Republicans seem to be getting the best of the struggle, but it was not to be so. Italy was soon to be subjected to the iron will of one man, and that man Napoleon. For fully twelve years it will be vain to look for any more Italian caricatures. The designer of "Napoleon Mummy" was a clever artist, but as a prophet he proved a complete failure. The first six hundred pages of *Italia* tell the story of the consistent glorification of Napoleon by his Italian subjects in the days of his power.

At the end of 1813 and the beginning of 1814, when the cause of Napoleon seemed desperate, the wholesale borrowing of satirical prints from Germany and elsewhere commenced. Thus the original inspiration of "The Lucky Hunter" was Teutonic, although the Italian version was published in Milan. The same may be said of the coloured print "The Lucky Courier" and the plain engraving "The Rhenish Courier;"[1] but in these cases it seems that copies with inscriptions in Italian were executed in Berlin for distribution in Lombardy and elsewhere.

The famous cosmopolitan caricature the "Triumph of the Year 1813—the True Image of the Conqueror" is dealt with in a separate chapter. Dr. Bertarelli notes the existence of five Italian versions of it, of which two were published at Berlin, and two at Milan. The

[1] There were both English and French versions of "The Rhenish Courier." See *ante*, ch. xxii. p. 121.

fifth bears no imprint. One of the Milanese copies were apparently issued by G. Sandis, No. 1773 Contrada de Bossi. The caricature "I am on Thorns"[1] is copied from a French original with the same name.[2] Napoleon is depicted as looking at some theatrical bills, one of which is dated "To-day, March 30, 1814—Unforeseen Events—Le Tartuffe." The Emperor is frightened by the perusal of these advertisements and loses a wing, whilst he lets drop from his hands rolls of paper with the names of the various kingdoms created by him, and the "Map of France" gets broken in his left hand. Below are four verses, beginning:—

"I am losing the paper, and but one wing is left to me."

"The Serpent and the Eagle" is an Italian version of the puzzle-pictures which a little later enjoyed considerable vogue in both France and England, only in this case it is distinctly anti-Napoleonic. An eagle attacks with its claws and beak a serpent which is trying to climb a tree. The white space between the tree and the snake shows the profile of Napoleon. Below are a set of verses: "Die not yet, as thou art a voracious serpent."[3]

It is possible that Gillray's famous print "The Handwriting on the Wall," of August 24, 1803, which is supposed to have given such mortal offence to Napoleon, suggested to the Italian artist "F. C." the caricature "Belshazzar's Feast"[4] engraved by "M. P." and published at Rome

[1] See ch. xxix.

[2] See Appendix D.

[3] See *ante*, ch. ix.; also Appendix A.

[4] This print is reproduced from the copy in Dr. A. Bertarelli's collection in the *Bollettino* already referred to as Plate I.

FALL OF NAPOLEON

May, 1814

by Piale. A reference is made to the Book of Daniel, hap. v. ver. 28. Pius VIII. as Daniel shows to Napoleon (Belshazzar) the ominous words "Mane Thecel Phares," written on the walls of the banqueting-hall, by a hand emerging from clouds. The following lines ppear below :—

You must believe that Daniel is holding converse with Belshazzar,
But under the semblance of Daniel you see the Pastor Pius,
At the time when Medes and Persians were Heaven's avengers,
And to-day Austrians and Russians, English and Prussians."

The engraving is dedicated "to H. E. Mr. Robert agan, His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General for Malta, icily, and the neighbouring Islands."

The idea of the "Bubbles" caricature, which seems o have been very popular in Italy, originated in Ger- nany.[1] Bartolomeo Pinelli, the artist, and Cunea, the ngraver, are jointly responsible for the caricature Empire," published in the Venetian States, in which ne Duke of Reichstadt points to a bubble he carries ttered "Rome." The painter Pinelli cordially de- sted Napoleon, and designed a set of four caricatures gainst him, hoping thereby to hasten his downfall. In ne *Bollettino* (Plate VII.), Dr. Bertarelli reproduces Blowing Bubbles," in which figure both Napoleon and is son. Napoleon, sitting on the left on a flower-pot, olds in his left hand a cup and is blowing soap bubbles n which are the words "Netherlands" and "Holland," The States of Piedmont," "Head of the Rhine Con- deration," "Grand Duchy of Westphalia," "French mpire," "Principality of Venice," "Kingdom of

[1] See *ante*, ch. xxii. ; also Appendix D.

Italy," "Kingdom of Rome." This last bubble is supported by the Duke of Reichstadt, who is pictured very small by the side of Napoleon. Below, in Italian, are the lines :—

> "The conquered lands, my child, and these kingdoms,
> Created by me almost in an instant,
> Owing to the high hidden purposes of Heaven,
> Will thou see vanish as bubbles on the wind."

In a third print ("Blowing Bubbles") the Duke of Reichstadt exclaims : "Oh ! Daddy, what lovely bubbles you have blown." In this case the lettering is in German and it was probably produced in Germany for Italian consumption. The bubbles are inscribed "Italy," "Piombino," "Westphalia," "Holland," "Warsaw," "Spain," "Rome," and "The Great ——." "The Flogging," another caricature of German origin, was published at Milan, although there is the word "Augusta" (Augsburg) below the accompanying verses. It is signed "A. Dalbon ; Sc. Jos. Parmione." The descriptive verse runs :—

> "How many Kings, States, and Nations
> Have I conquered with my sword ?
> Now they are pulling down my breeches
> In order to administer me a flogging."

In "Napoleon's Fate" we see Force, representing the Allied Powers, in the act of striking down Napoleon with a club. The Emperor's sword has snapped. At the side stands Justice in the act of weighing Napoleon, while Victory sentences him to be transported to the Island of Elba.

The mythological symbolism which Italian writers and artists had, between 1800 and 1812, used so zealously

Precursore dei Ladri

PRECURSOR OF THIEVES

or the flattering of Napoleon, was now employed with qual assiduity, for his vilification. The original copper late of the allegorical engraving, the "Fall of Napoleon," now the property of Dr. Bertarelli, who says it was xecuted at Milan in 1814. A similar print was pub-shed at Rome. On the top right-hand side Father ime holds a ribbon with the words, "2nd of April 814"; on the left-hand side, Russia, Austria, Prussia, nd England threaten Napoleon, who falls from his iumphal car, driven by Fortune. Mercury, on the ottom left side, is going back to the cares of the trade hich he had forsaken. In the centre below is printed, Deposited at the Library." A lengthy description ommences with the words: "The protection of Mercury xalted Napoleon, treacherously lulling to sleep France nd Italy, and founding his throne on the ruins of narchy."

In "The Statue Shattered" (published at Venice) we ave a view of the Piazzetta of San Marco at Venice; on the ght is the base of a column surmounted by four shining rcles representing Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia. rom the centre of these circles comes a great cluster f rays striking the statue of Napoleon, which crumbles o pieces. On the left, from the clouds, appears the and of God holding by a string the World, on the face f which is the inscription, "The World is in the hands f the Great Mover of all things." On the column is he date April 20, 1814.[1] Some lines of verse begin :—

"Lo! Justice strikes him down to-day
To satisfy the legitimate longings of all."

[1] The date of the popular rising at Milan in which the Finance Minister rina was killed.

The print entitled "The Ride to Hell" bears th words "Berlin 1814," but as the paper on which it wa produced has the watermark "Toscana" with a portio of the Medicean coat-of-arms, it is considered as Italian We see Napoleon, naked and on all fours like an anima with a saddle on his back, on which is perched a peacock the emblem of pride. The rider is a demon, who lashe him unmercifully. Napoleon moves in the direction the infernal regions, where a number of French general await him. To the left Peace stretches forth an oliv branch, while the Nations of Europe embrace on another. Six lines of verse begin :—

> "The great Beast, its back loaded with vice !
> Flog thou, oh Satan ! and boldly tighten
> The bit against the proud one. . . ."

In the *Bollettino* [1] Dr. Bertarelli reproduces the inter esting caricature "Napoleon in Elba." In it the exile Emperor is depicted as seated in an arm-chair. H is consulting the Bible, open at the Latin text *Vitan impendere vero, tempora si fuerunt calamitosa, consili clara*. To the right are a map of the World and th *History* of Gibbon. To the left the Devil says: "Hi sadness is my joy." Behind him Death exclaims: " am the end of human pomp." In the background is volcano out of which demons are pouring.

Two caricatures exist on the subject of Count Prina a native of Novara, who had been Napoleon's Ministe of Finance at Milan from April 20, 1802. On that ver day, twelve years later, he fell a victim to the fury o

[1] P. 187.

EL REY DE BROBDINGNAG Y GULLIVER.

Examinando largamente al Señor Napoleon

THE KING OF BROBDINGNAG AND GULLIVER. 1803

ne mob.[1] In the first Pluto declines to admit him to ell for fear he should impose there the taxes which had ade him hateful on earth. In the second his ghost ssumes the form of a skeleton and appears to Napoleon hile walking on the shore at Elba. The conversation hich takes place between them is related in forty-five nes. Prina tells Bonaparte, that, having laboured for im all his life, he now claims rest for his remains (bones). e tells how he has already been down to hell, where he as refused admission. Bonaparte, after offering many xcuses, concludes by saying that he will sign a decree hereby Pluto shall calm his indignation and receive the ody of the Minister in the infernal regions.

Both these prints are doubtless of Milanese origin. n "Buonaparte struck with a Bolt" the leading idea f "Belshazzar's Feast" is once more utilised. The exile seen sitting in chains on the Elban rock, surrounded y corpses. A skeleton holds up for his inspection a ook inscribed "Mene-Teckel-Phares." Religion is seen mongst the clouds. In the centre a thunderbolt leaving ne All-Seeing Eye strikes Napoleon, on whose right is en the shadow of the Duc d'Enghien. The verses elow resemble these generally appended to the Milan aricatures. The print entitled "The Coalition of the llied Powers for the Peace of Europe" is attributed to ne Roman engraver Pinelli. It is also to be found in ne booklet by Gaetano Celli, published at Rome in 814, by De Romanis, "To celebrate the happy return Rome of Pius VII. P. O. M." A vessel laden with ritish soldiers, King George standing at the prow, is

[1] Several interesting illustrations of this event will be found in *Italia*, . 700–703. See also *Bollettino*, Plates II. and VI.

anchored off the shore. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the Kings of Sweden and Prussia, on horseback, threaten Napoleon, who has lost his sword and his money. Below are two stanzas of four verses, beginning: "Behold, the Austrian and the Russian are fore-runners of peace," &c. On an elevation to the right is a chapel where the Pope is praying whilst an angel comes from above to crown him.

The allegorical caricature "Truth, Novelty, Antiquity" is "by that strange Milanese artist Riboldi," who, in 1811, had already given the Viceroy Beauharnais a tangible proof of the sharpness of his satire. In the British Museum are three Italian caricatures unmentioned by Dr. Bertarelli. In "The Lucky Dancer" (*Il Ballerino piu ricco*) Napoleon is dancing to the tune of the Allies, and in "The Fly" (*L'Altissimo l'Eroe Napoleone, fece una mosca diventar coglione*), Napoleon is catching a fly (*mosca*) on his nose. The pun on the words "mosca" and "Moscow" is obvious. The latter print is lettered "Berlin, 1814." In the last of the three, "The Barber's Shop"[1] (*La Nuova Bottega dei Barbieri in Europa*), the Allies are engaged in shaving the Emperor. "The Scales of Time" was published at Milan at the end of 1814 or the beginning of 1815. There is a lengthy inscription of six lines at the foot of the engraving, in which one sees Father Time holding up a pair of scales. On the right is a representative of Spain, and on the left Napoleon. The right scale is supported by the Spanish and American peoples, whilst the left

[1] See *Italia*, p. 506. This caricature is reproduced in the same book at p. 712.

[2] See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 74.

one is on the point of falling into the sea, dragging with it Napoleon, who vainly implores the help of his brothers, the Kings of Spain, Holland, and Westphalia, who watch him in his fall from the summit of a rock near by.

There are two versions of "Wax-work Bonaparte," now reproduced, which is lettered "Berlin, 1814." Napoleon, standing on a table, is melting away under the rays of the sun. Round him are grouped his followers, who with fans and bellows are trying to prevent his collapse. The verses below may be rendered as follows :—

> "A sun that only suits the nigger
> Is melting Nap's colossal figure!
> His tearful friends their powers tax,
> By blowing cold, to cool the wax!"

The satirical print "To the Martyrs of Truth" was published in Milan during 1815. The bust of Napoleon is enveloped in a net. It was the work of the eccentric Riboldi, who signed it "Riboldi, Milanese painter, in order to lower himself." He also designed "The Distribution of Honours" and "The Last Judgment."[1] The "Precursor of Thieves," now reproduced, is somewhat puzzling. It may possibly refer to the first appearance of Bonaparte in Italy (1796–97) or to the return of Murat, nineteen years later.[2] In any case it is a print of Italian origin. The last of the Italian caricatures against Napoleon deals with his banishment to St. Helena, and was doubtless inspired by the French

[1] See *Bollettino*, p. 187.

[2] Dr. Bertarelli writes, "I do not possess the caricature 'Precursore dei Ladri.' It may relate to Murat, to whom it bears a certain resemblance, but a similar figure appears in some of the Tuscan caricatures published at Florence in 1799."

caricature "Cæsar in his Palace."[1] It appeared about 1817. On the right is seen the island of St. Helena with a castle, and from it stretches out a chain which restrains the furious dog, Napoleon. In front of the island there is a rock from which Napoleon's partisans are endeavouring to throw him pieces of bread. Below are the lines :—

> "It is in vain you whistle or throw him bread
> As he is tied up in the middle of the sea,
> And, furthermore, I think it madness to concern one's self with a dog
> Who has bitten nearly all the world."

If comparatively few caricatures against Napoleon are of Roman origin, a good many amusing *bons mots* and epigrams were made at his expense in the Holy City. Amongst them is the reply to the question: "Is it true that all the French are robbers?" "Not all, but *buona parte*." "In the spring of 1806," writes Fuchs in his *Karikatur*, "Rome was amused by reading the latest pasquin: 'Oil has gone up.' 'Why?' 'Because Napoleon has used it all to anoint Kings and cook republics!' While Rome was still laughing, Gillray brought out that masterpiece, 'Tiddy-Doll.' Thus the graceful South and the robust North met in their common hatred."

SPANISH CARICATURES

The Napoleonic caricatures of the Iberian Peninsula have still to find a Bertarelli to collect and classify them. Although very little is known about them they were

[1] See *ante*, ch. xx., and Appendix D.

EL TIGRE CORSO ATACADO.

By T. Rowlandson, July 8, 1808

extensively used by the Spaniards as a means of influencing public opinion during the struggle for freedom which began at the end of 1807, and lasted until May 14, 1814, when King Ferdinand was restored. During that period there lived quietly in Spain the great Aragonese artist, Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), who had fraternised at Rome with Louis David long years before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Goya revelled in a sort of supernatural wildness. In addition to his pictures he produced a large number of etchings and engravings in aquatint, of which there is a splendid collection in the British Museum. After the return of the King he executed seventeen realistic designs known as "The Disasters of War," which are little less celebrated than his "Caprices." According to Senor Jacinto Octavio Picon,[1] Goya "influenced" or inspired some of the satirical prints used as weapons against Napoleon, but one can hardly credit his having had any direct connection with such miserable daubs as the "Love of the Bottle" or a "King of Bottles" in which the drinking propensities of King Joseph are satirised with repulsive vulgarity.[2] In the first-named we see the hated usurper kneeling before a wine-press, apparently hopelessly intoxicated, but quite unable to reach the liquor. Cupids carry scrolls inscribed "Love of the bottle is your guiding star," and "Every one has his fate, yours is that of one who drinks himself to death." Above the print are some verses ending with the words: "Now you see, O amorous mother, that my lips cannot

[1] *Apuntes para la Historia de la Caricatura.* Madrid 1878. 1 vol. 136 pp.

[2] See *Apuntes*, pp. 108 and 110.

touch the liquor I love so well; therefore, pour over my head the wines from Malaga and Xerez, as well as common claret and beer." It would need some cogent evidence to prove the participation of the author of the "Caprichos" in such feeble efforts as those.

Fuchs in his *Karikatur* (pp. 168 and 186) attributes to Goya two caricatures entitled "Napoleon in Purgatory" and "The Plucked Eagle." The latter appeared in 1813. In it a Spanish soldier armed with a trident is depicted in the act of driving off a maimed and battered eagle. Nothing probably did more to stimulate the efforts of the Spanish irregular soldiery against Napoleon than Goya's pictures the "Horrors of War," which put forth a terrible and unanswerable indictment against the invader.

The chief events of the Spanish War of 1807–1814 have been alluded to while describing the English caricatures dealing with its history.[1] In support of the Spanish "patriots" England spared neither men nor money. The insurgents were, from the very first, persistent borrowers, and some of the most popular and stimulating of their caricatures originated in the works of Gillray, Rowlandson, and George Cruikshank, although Señor Picon does not seem to be aware of the existence of the last-named artist. Under the title of "El Rey de Brobdingnag y Gulliver Examinando largamente al Señor Napoleon," "Señor Napoleon" is certainly a polite rendering of "Little Boney," and in the Spanish adaptation now reproduced is a table, pen-knife, and inkstand which are wanting in the original of June 26, 1803. To the same category belongs the edition with

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. ch. xii. pp. 266–284.

1 España. 2 Inglaterra. 3 Portugal. 4 Suecia. 5 Alemania. 6 Turquia. 7 Napoleon.

BONAPARTE BLIND THROUGH CONCEIT. 1808

Spanish lettering of Rowlandson's "Corsican Tiger at Bay" (July 8, 1808), now given as an illustration. Again the "Bull Fight" ("Fiesta de Toros en España el matador Corso in peligro") is an adaptation of Gillray's print, of July 11, 1808,[1] bearing exactly the same title. The whole of the lettering is in Spanish. The nine Sovereigns of Europe are ranged as spectators round the arena, which is inscribed "The Royal Place of Europe." The victorious bull tramples on Joseph Bonaparte and a proclamation inscribed "Coronation of Jose Bonaparte, King of Spain, Gibraltar, and Naples." From Napoleon's hands falls "A Plan for the Subjugation of the Universe."

Early in 1814 both Spain and Portugal borrowed from Berlin the great cosmopolitan caricature of the Corpse-head, the Spanish version of which is entitled, "Napoleon en el año 1814."[2] The printed explanation, which follows closely on that appended to the German original, ends with a note to the effect that "This caricature, published in Germany, Russia, and England, is prized for the singular merit of the composition, and from the fact that it has been executed in accordance with the most accurate sketch known of Napoleon."

There was, however, no lack of caricatures designed as well as published by Spaniards. Such were "Napoleon Working for the Regeneration of Spain," "The Happy Don,"[3] and "Bonaparte Blind through Conceit." The first named is grossly indecent. The full title of the

[1] See Appendix A, No. 814.
[2] See *post*, ch. xxix. pp. 242–257.
[3] British Museum.

last, now reproduced, is " Napoleon Blind from Conceit does not know what Power he ought to catch hold of, or the Game of Blind Hen " (Blindman's Buff). To the right of the blindfolded Emperor are the figures of Switzerland, Germany, and Turkey ; to the left those of Portugal, England, and Spain. An eagle crouches between Napoleon's legs. The following dialogue is put into the mouths of the representatives of the Nations :—

Spain loq. " I'm not afraid. You know who I am."

England loq. " When will you disembark ? "

Portugal loq. " I've escaped little Napoleon."

Switzerland loq. " You don't catch me."

Germany loq. " I've known you and am forewarned."

Turkey loq. " You wanted to deceive me, but I got the Englishman to help me."

By the side of Spain stands a lion, and the words: " Behold me ! Mighty eagle." Napoleon cries: " Which shall I catch ? " In " The Bird and Napoleon," [1] a sparrow on a twig gazes at a ribbon inscribed " Napoleon I., Emperor of the French." Below are the words: " Puzzle-portraits of Bonaparte, his wife, Prince Joseph Bonaparte, Grand Elector, and Prince Louis, Constable, brothers of the Emperor." This is one of the earliest examples of a form of caricature which in 1814–15 became popular both in England and France.[2] Other caricatures are entitled " The Happiness of Spain," " The Gratitude of the Spanish Bull," and " Napoleon and Godoy." [3] In the last, a print of 1812–13, Napoleon and Godoy, the Prince of Peace, are portrayed as brother conspirators in despair. A Russian eagle hovers

[1] Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

[2] See *ante*, ch. xxi.

[3] Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

ENIGMA OF NAPOLEON'S IDEAS WITH RESPECT TO SPAIN. 1809

ominously above their heads. Below are the words: "In striving to remedy one error by another they have added to their previous errors, and end by ruining themselves." The "Cure of the Sick Napoleon" ("Curacion de Napoleon enfermo")[1] is of the same date, and is alluded to by Picon in his "Apuntes." The Emperor is seen in bed in a handsome room supported by pillars. To the left is a set of shelves on which are seen bowls filled with weapons, cannon balls, &c. Below are several guns, and a drawer inscribed in Spanish, "Quack medicines for Madrid," "English (Epsom) Salts," "Badajoz Pills," "Ciudad Rodrigo Emetics," "Salamanca Purge," and "Albufera Seeds." Bonaparte is vomiting Prussia, Rome, Westphalia, &c., into a huge basin. Four figures standing to the right are lettered C, D, E, and F. Another on his left (A) addresses him thus: "Bounaparte (*sic*) having filled himseif with cooked meats from the North, wanted to take coffee in Spain. Instead of a laxative it proved an astringent, and it became necessary for kindly Spain in conjunction with generous England to administer an emetic to clear him out. Spain has no doubt about the efficacy of these medicines." B (Napoleon) replies: "Oh! to Hell with Spain and her medicines." C (Louis Bonaparte) exclaims: "I am much afraid of the results of the sickness." D (Joseph Bonaparte) continues: "I have more reason to be afraid, seeing I have neither guns nor ammunition." E (Jerome Bonaparte) adds: "I think this has become an epidemic in our family." F (Lucien) also speaks. *Interpretation:* "With his conquests he thought he would do the same in Spain, but this nation, helped by England, defended itself with

[1] Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

energy, and by dint of constancy and the performing of prodigies of valour in the battles of Madrid, Salamanca, Badajoz, &c., threw off the yoke of the Tyrant and became an example to all the states of Europe."

To the caricature, "Enigma of Napoleon's Ideas concerning Spain," now reproduced, are appended no less than sixteen verses of explanatory text. It must have appeared in the summer of 1808, and its interpretation is aided by numerals.

1. The Palace at Bayonne.

2. Manuel de Godoy ousted from Spain, demands, with a blast of the horn, the protection of Napoleon.

3. A pledge is given for the return of Ferdinand VII. to Spain by Sabari (Savary).

4. Napoleon, swollen with the conquest of Europe, advances to receive Ferdinand VII.

5. At the sight of the Tyrant, Ferdinand realises his perfidy to his country, and is horrified at it.

6. Joseph—the Buonaparte of the Bottles—exchanges the crown of Naples for that of Spain.

7. Murat, with the armies of Napoleon, enters Spain to crown Joseph the Bottleholder.

8. Montion (*sic*), the emissary of Murat to Charles IV., for the purpose of inducing him to withdraw his abdication in favour of Ferdinand.

9. The ferocity of Dupont represented by his horrible figure.

10. Moncey by his hypocrisy thinks he can deceive the Spaniards.

11. Grouchy calls together a Military Commission to shoot down (as he had done on May 2) many innocent inhabitants of Madrid.

12. Belliard, Secretary to Murat in his iniquities.

13. The French army with which Napoleon thought to terrorise Spain and make himself her master.

14. Spain (supported by the Lion) awaits the result of Napoleon's reception of Ferdinand VII. at Bayonne.

15. Gibraltar, from whence England first despatched assistance to Spain.

16. The hand of Providence about to sever the various threads of Napoleon's abominations proceeding from his crown, and to which the figures 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 are attached.

The Spanish crown surmounts a globe on which the Lion rests its paw. In 1814 victorious Spain could afford to laugh at the caricature, " The Memorable Sea Voyage," now to be found in the Royal Library at Madrid, in which Joseph is seen navigating a fleet of barrels and bottles to offer consolation to his brother at Elba. The last of the series of Spanish satirical pictures deals with Napoleon's death. Talleyrand had from the first denounced the venture in the Peninsula as " the beginning of the end." The exiled Emperor was not altogether wrong when he said mournfully that the disease which killed him was " the Spanish ulcer."

CHAPTER XXIV

NAPOLEON IN RUSSIAN CARICATURE (1812–1815)

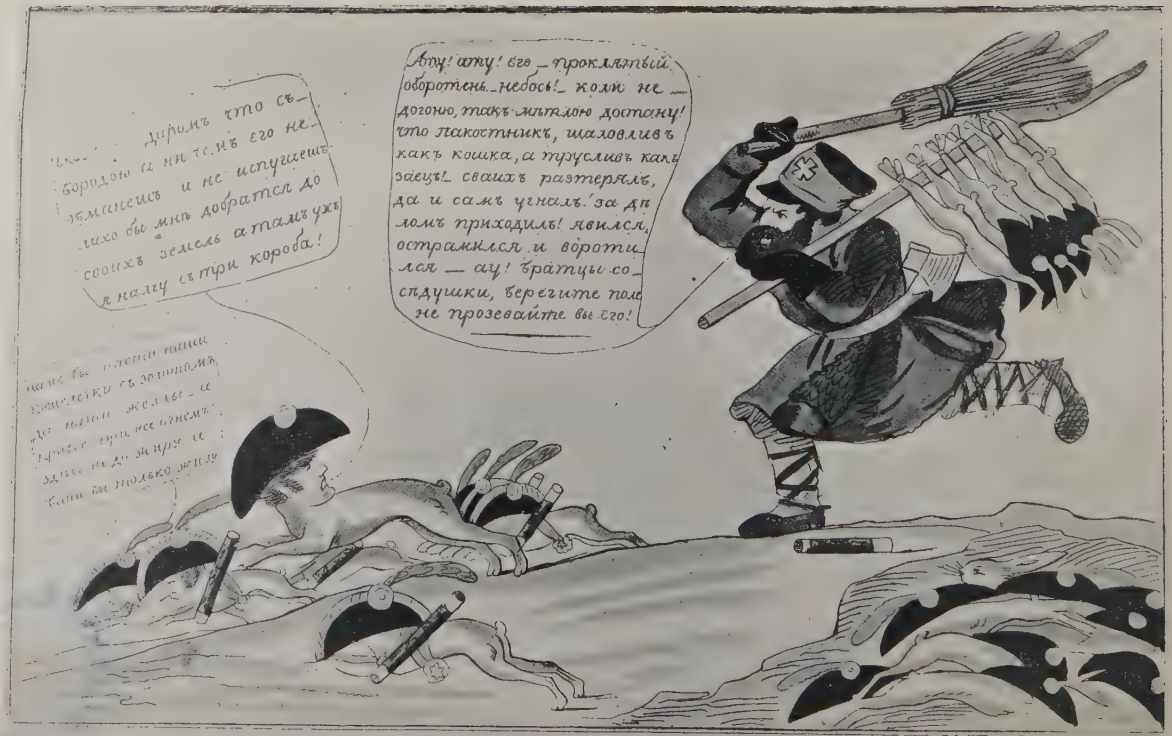
"The French army in dissolution from hunger, sickness, and the sword; Napoleon in flight, covered with shame, racked with fury. . . such are the successes achieved by the wise and strong measures of the Emperor Alexander, the admirable energy of the Russian people, and the valour of the army."—*Stein at St. Petersburg, November* 1812.

"I heard once more the thunder of cannon, the whistling of balls, the riot of battle; I saw once more the death rage of the Guards—the waving flags, again, the Emperor on his steed—but little by little there fell a sad tone in amid the most stirring confusion, sounds rang from the drum, in which the wildest hurrahs and the most fearful griefs were mysteriously mingled; it seemed a march of victory and a march of death. Le Grand's eyes opened spirit-like and wide, and I saw in them nothing but a broad white field of ice covered with corpses—it was the battle of Moscow." —HEINE, *Das Buch Le Grand.*

THE activity of the Russian caricaturists in the winter of 1812 and throughout the whole of the following year was phenomenal. The writer has failed to trace any satirical prints of Muscovite origin prior to the year of Napoleon's invasion, and the energy of the Russian artists seems to have exhausted itself with the crowning victory of Leipzic and the general coalition against France. Like nearly every other European country, Russia had its version of the German Corpse-head caricature with which Prussia perpetuated the "Triumph of 1813." It is evident that the advantages of the caricature as an incentive to patriotic exertion were throughly understood both by the Czar Alexander and his advisers during

A MEDICAL CONSULTATION.

Russian Caricature by Ivan Terebenef.


Ату! ату! его — проклятый оборотень — небось! — коли не — догоню, такъ мытлою достану! что пакостникъ, шаловливъ какъ кошка, а трусливъ какъ заецъ! своихъ растерялъ, да и самъ чуналъ за дѣломъ приходилъ! явился, остражился и воротился — ау! братцы-сподушки, берегите пол не прозевайте вы его!
Дрижъ что съ — бородою а не тронъ его не — обманешь и не испугаешь тихо вы мнѣ добратся до своихъ земель а тамъ ужъ я найду съ три короба!

Русской мужикъ Вавила Морозъ на заячей охотѣ.

he crisis which proved fatal to the fortunes of Napoleon. *The Son of the Fatherland*, a journal then enjoying a onsiderable vogue, devoted itself to the publication of atriotic literature, including songs, articles, and cari-atures, of which a good many were published under its uspices. At the head of the artists who consecrated heir talents to the denigration of "Nero Napoleon" nd the vilification of the soldiers who followed him vas Ivan Terebenef, a man of considerable ability. erebenef in the prints he designed endeavoured to exalt he high character and heroism of his compatriots, while he ainted the enemies of Holy Russia as ruffians and cowards.

The good understanding between Russia and England vas complete, and a great many of the creations of erebenef and others soon found their way to this ountry, where they were industriously copied or adapted y George Cruikshank.[1] There is a good deal of humour n many of Terebenef's best productions, the colouring f which is more refined than in the coarser plates issued y "The Son of the Fatherland." In many of them Basil," the typical Russian, plays the same part as the nore familiar "John Bull" does in English caricature, vhile our "Jack Frost" appears in the guise of "Babeela loroz."

[1] In describing Cruikshank's "Specimens of Russian Chopping-Blocks" (*Works of George Cruikshank*, p. 130), Captain R. J. H. Douglas writes: 'Reid says this and several following etchings are said to be copies of ussian prints, which is of course untrue, but I have three copies of the riginal prints from which they were copied." The present writer can orroborate Captain Douglas's statement. He possesses the Russian original "The Dancing Master" as well as Cruikshank's English edition of it. he Russian print "Retirement into Winter Quarters" very likely sug-ested Cruikshank's caricature with the same title. The original of the plate om which Cruikshank took "Napoleon's Fame" is amongst the eleven ussian Napoleonic caricatures in the British Museum.

The Russian caricatures in the British Museum relating to Napoleon are "The Turkish Bath" (1812), "The Running Lesson" (1813), "Contributions" (1813), "The Dancing Master" (1812), "Contributions for the New Army" (1813), "The Conscription" (1813), "The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing" (1812), "The Quarantine" (1812), "Napoleon's Fame" (1812), "The Retreat from Moscow" (1812), and "The Pig Messenger" (1812). In "The Quarantine," reproduced in colours, is a good example of Ivan Terebenef's style, and its execution is in every way superior to that of the majority of *The Son of the Fatherland's* illustrations. One doctor is feeling Napoleon's pulse and head, while another peers at his tongue through a formidable pair of spectacles. The following dialogue in Russian is appended :—

Doctor Number 1. "Tongue a little furred" (in punishment for his many lies and exaggerations).

Doctor Number 2. "Pulse scarcely beats" (very weak from excessive blood-letting).

Doctor Number 1. "Head awfully hot" (because his mad plans have not succeeded).

Napoleon. "I must get back as quickly as possible. The climate of Russia evidently does not agree with me!"

Quite six months earlier than "The Consultation" is the caricature "Napoleon on a Cray-fish," in which Napoleon is seen, seated on a cray-fish, advancing slowly from Paris and Montmartre, holding out an olive branch, at which a mounted Cossack tilts vigorously. Some considerable time elapsed between Napoleon's leaving Paris (May 9) and his crossing the Niemen (June 12), and his threats of invasion did not in all probability at once receive universal credence in the Czar's dominion.

Проѣздъ высокаго Путешественника отъ Варшавы
до Парижа, подъ именемъ своего Шталмейстера,
съ ощипаннымъ орломъ и ознобленнымъ Мамелюкомъ

"Jack Frost Hare-hunting" is another good example of the satirical prints, which, in the winter of 1812, nerved the Russian peasants to a race-war against the French. The literal title of the caricature "The Russian Boor Babeela Moroz (Little Jack Frost) Hunting Hares," Napoleon and his Marshals are depicted as hares. The batons of the latter are tied to them by their cordons.

The following is a translation of the explanatory Russian dialogue :—

The Marshals. "We had best save our little purses with the gold and our batons! All the rest, alas! has gone to blazes! This is no place to grow fat in; the most we can do is live!"

Napoleon. "What a monster! With a beard like that he can't be frightened or cheated in any way! It would be sly work for me to get to my earth (our lands), and once there I'll (lie) my full!"

Jack Frost. "Tally ho! Tally ho! The cursed were-wolf! Never mind, if I can't catch him, so long as I can get at him! What an artful dodger he is! as agile as a cat, but as timid as a hare! He himself upset his own schemes. He came to do the trick. He showed himself, twisted, and turned back! Ho! Brother allies, guard the field and don't let him slip away."

"The Head-quarter Staff Kitchen"[1] ridicules very cleverly the scarceness of provisions during the French retreat from Moscow. To the left is seen a stupendous bill of fare, beginning with "Soupe au Corbeau" and ending with "Des Gateaux à la crême au Souris." Officers are engaged in cooking, the utensils being marked with an "N." Dead cats, mice, and frogs bestrew the

[1] Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

floor. An officer, whose helmet bears the letter "N," is watching a row of mouse-traps. On the wall one reads :—

"Pour 100 grenouilles non blessés la Croix de la Légion d'Honneur."

"Tous les bons citoyens sont invités d'apporter leur chats au Quartier Général."

Below is the following inscription :—

"Drawn from nature by Samovidgy. Head-quarters Staff Kitchen during the last stages of the flight from Moscow." In "The French Voyager in the year 1812," Terebenef depicts Napoleon, his hair standing on end and his feet in *sabots*, crouching on a tiny wooden sledge attached to the tail of a pig. Terebenef is also the author of "The Retreat of the French cavalry after eating their horses in Russia." A procession moves from right to left consisting of a Marshal riding a stick with the top formed like a horse's head, a cuirassier astride a trumpet, Polish uhlans without uniforms using their lances as steeds, winding up with a mameluke dressed in a woman's cloak and carrying a haunch of horse on a stick. In "The Entertainment of Napoleon in Russia" we see Napoleon being soused in a tub lettered "A Place for Drowning Excitement." A boor pours into a cup which Napoleon grasps a can of "boiling water from the Moscow conflagration," while a soldier stuffs into his mouth a large chunk of Vyazmo gingerbread. Below are the words "You wanted gifts and hospitalities from Russia! Here are Russian sweetmeats and delicacies."

The caricature "Journey of the exalted traveller from Warsaw to Paris on the shoulders of the chief of his stable with tattered eagle and wounded mameluke," is one of Terebenef's best works. The reproduction will

Не удалось тебѣ насъ перелаять на свою посудку:
Поплати Ас Бесурманъ, подъ наглу дудку!

11—175

peak for itself. Tied to Napoleon's sledge is the French agle moulting its feathers in all directions. Many of hem fall on the mameluke who occupies a basket tied o the back of the sledge.

Deeds of Russian heroism are portrayed in the prints ntitled "The Chichevki Giant," "The Spirit of Fearssness of the Russians," "The Cossacks a Whirlwind of trength," "The Villagers of Volodimir," "Russian Inifference to Pain," and "Peasant Power" ("Beneath he giant might of the Moscow boor"). In "Peasant ower" we see a stalwart countryman standing, axe in and, over a French cavalry officer who begs for mercy, nd saying "Cross yourself, *Mussulman*, you'll no longer ee the light of day." The hero of "Russian Inifference to Pain" is a villager who chops off his fingers eliberately with a hatchet in the presence of a number f French soldiers so as to avoid being compelled to ght against his countrymen. In the village of Volomir a party of serfs drive a detachment of French odily out of the house of their lord. So strong was he of the Cossack horsemen that he seized on a rench officer and carried him unaided into the Russian nes. Napoleon is reported to have shot several peasants Moscow on slight pretexts. According to a satirical rint on the subject one of those who thus "died for the ve of their Faith, their Czar, and their Fatherland," et his fate calmly, crying out, "Have mercy on me, Lord! Good-bye, good people." At Cichevki a giant wonderful strength closed the door of a hut by sheer rce of muscle, and so enabled the villagers to make irty-one French soldiers prisoners. In 1812–13 the ctics adopted by the inspired Russian artists and

writers were precisely those utilised so extensively by the English in 1803–4–5. They glorified the prowess of their fellow-countrymen while throwing contempt and ridicule on their opponents.

In "The Dancing Lesson," now reproduced, Terebenef makes Napoleon dance ignominiously at the order of two Russian peasants, one of whom threatens him with a whip, while another plays on a pipe. Below are the words, "You did not succeed in getting us to dance, you little devil! Be quick now, Mr. Dancing Master, and dance to our piping."

There are no less than five figures in "The Dancing Lesson." Napoleon and one of his Marshals are dancing nimbly to the same sort of music as in the last print. One peasant stimulates their exertions with a birch-rod and another with a whip. The first villager says, "We have heard my brother about your piping. We will make you dance now to our tune." Napoleon replies, "Ah! it is miserable for me to be thus amongst strangers." The man with the birch-rod adds, "Now be off, and learn once and for ever what sort of people the Russians are." A curious caricature is entitled "The Dream of the Three Tumblers," in which an old woman explains to Napoleon a vision which he saw at Moscow. Napoleon and an officer of his Staff are in a room guarded by mamelukes. The Emperor's sword lies on a table on which rest an open map and three drinking glasses—white, blue, and red. The aged woman standing before them points to a white Russian cock near the entrance getting the better of a black French cock which it has pinned to the ground. Napoleon says, "What is the meaning of the three tumblers seen by me in Moscow, of which one was empty,

another filled with water, and the third with blood?" She answers: "The empty glass means that your war was commenced from empty vain-glory and pride. The glass with water signifies the tears of the poor innocent people and those ruined by the war, and the last, filled with blood, represents the human blood poured forth in this most terrible of wars!"

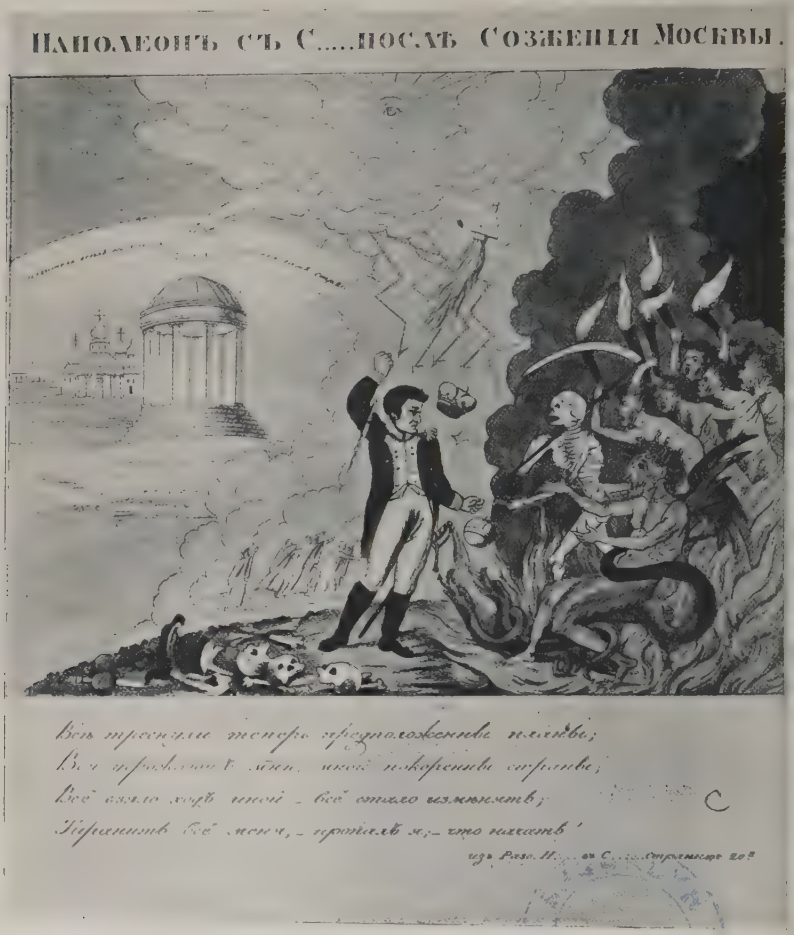
In "Nero Napoleon," Time, scythe and hour-glass in hand, draws back a curtain which enables the Emperor to see Moscow in flames. His crown and sceptre, the latter broken, lie on the ground. The French cock (with the name of Bonaparte on a scroll in its mouth) is wounded and lies prostrate along with a swarm of imperial bees. The Emperor's robe is falling off. Against it rests a shield inscribed "Nero." This caricature may certainly be regarded as prophetic. In another print, "Napoleon after the Burning of Moscow," which is reproduced, the Emperor is depicted as approaching the infernal regions by a road strewn with skeletons. His sceptre and crown, struck by lightning, are falling to the ground. In the clouds above, the All-Seeing Eye of Providence is visible. While one arm protruding from them points to a view of Moscow rebuilt and beautified, the other holds a flaming scourge over Napoleon's head. Below are the words:—

"All fail—my plans laid cunningly.
The lands I've conquered threaten me.
All has gone wrong—betrayed by all,
Bewildered and opprest I fall!"

As might be expected, Terebenef and his colleagues turned to the best account the manifold misfortunes which dogged the footsteps of Napoleon and his followers from the moment the retreat began. If

Generals "Frost" and "Winter" did good service to Russia and the Czar, they also rendered timely assistance to the caricaturist. Satirical plates now made their appearance daily, and in ferocity they out-Gillrayed Gillray, who now lay a-dying over the print-shop in distant St. James's Street. If the latent humour of "Polish Cossacks" is not at once obvious to a foreigner, there can be no doubt about the sting in "The Retirement of Napoleon from Moscow into Winter Quarters." The French Emperor and his Staff are floundering hopelessly in a frozen stream. A mameluke grasps a lance on which is a small flag inscribed "Napoleon." Two vanishing Eagle-standards bear the numbers 13 and 4. A messenger, horn in hand, is endeavouring to escape to the west, crying: "What are your commands as to how I am to trumpet your glory in the Bulletins?" Napoleon, up to the arm-pits in ice and water, replies: "Say that I shall soon entrench myself with glory in winter quarters."[1] A half-drowned Marshal looking through a telescope exclaims: "This young Victor is conspicuous everywhere, but is visible nowhere. Now he is before Ostashkof and Toronzin, now before Novgorod." Another officer says: "The gallant Davoust has lost Buloz," to which a comrade answers: "The brave Ney has fled from Krasnoi to hunt doves." In the distance Cossacks in pursuit are seen approaching. In "The Hungry French Wolves devour (tear to pieces) a Ram," we see a party of famished Frenchmen about to secure a meal, when they are driven away by the whips of three mounted Cossacks, who cry: "This morsel is not for your mouths. Make off at once, you

[1] These words were used by Napoleon in one of his official despatches.



NAPOLEON AFTER THE BURNING OF MOSCOW

worthless Mussulmans ! "[1] In the " Audacious Attempt of Napoleon to possess the Whole World," we have a new version of a very old theme.[2] Napoleon is endeavouring to carry away an immense globe on which the map of Russia is conspicuous. He is stopped by a Russian foot-soldier, brandishing an axe. A French soldier has fallen down, and Cossacks are approaching. Below the print are the words : " That's what you have got by coming to Corcheello." Napoleon declares he " will take everything." The Russian with the axe replies : " Then we'll chop your hands off." A Cossack, pointing a spear at Napoleon, cries : " On, my sons, more fiercely against the Mussulman-faced ones ! " " Quarantine for Napoleon on his Return from Russia " bears a strong resemblance to " A Medical Consultation." Both are by Terebenef. In the reproduction three doctors will be seen busily engaged in the fumigation of the unlucky Napoleon. To the left one of them takes off his coat with a huge pair of pincers, while a second uses the fumigator. On the right a third doctor approaches with another saucepan. From his pocket protrudes a bottle lettered " Hellebore root for the Emperor." His boot and hat are being removed by a complicated arrangement of cords and pulleys. Below are the lines, " I would have conquered Russia. The sea overwhelmed my forces. I was almost wounded myself. I was compelled to undergo a cure." The small print, " A Prudent Retreat secures for me Repose " is exceedingly interesting on account of the wealth of its minute details. Napoleon

[1] The assertion that Napoleon had become a Moslem in Cairo was widely used in 1812–13 to discredit him in Russia.

[2] *Cf.* Appendices A, D, and F.

is being rapidly driven westwards in a sledge across a field strewn with the *disjecta membra* of his campaign. Two Marshals stand behind him. Napoleon urges on the coachman with a whip. In his hand is a roll of paper with a view of shipping, lettered "Grand Project for the taking of England." In his flight he has dropped projects for the ruin of Russia, a great fête at St. Petersburg, and the invasion of China. A desert gun-carriage is lettered "Caison Garde Impériale Elite 12." Cossacks are approaching in all directions.

The flood of caricature continued throughout the early months of 1813. The details of Napoleon's somewhat undignified arrival in Paris (December 18, 1812) were at once seized on with avidity alike by Russian and English artists.[1] Terebenef revelled in the real or supposed existence of a frost-bitten nose at the Tuileries. In "The Nose that Napoleon brought back with him from Russia to Paris" he depicts the Emperor, holding in his hand a dilapidated plan of the campaign of 1812, while Bertrand and two doctors look in trepidation at his elongated, swollen, and reddened nasal organ. The pockets of the doctor are filled with surgical instruments, and his medicine-chest is open behind Napoleon's easy-chair. The Emperor says: "Here's the kind of nose the Russians have given me! I don't know how I can show myself to the Paris public with it. Are there no means of shortening it?" The first Doctor says: "We must cut it off!" The second Doctor exclaims: "In that case I won't answer for the life of His Majesty!" Bertrand says: "On no account shorten

[1] See vol. i. ch. xv. p. 328. For the reproduction of Russian caricatures on English porcelain and pottery, see ch. xxx. pp. 258–267.

it. Show yourself boldly to the Parisians. We will declare you got it from the early frosts of Russia." In "The Pig Messenger" Napoleon crosses a stream in which human bones are floating. In his arm is the figure of Fame turning upside down.[1] Fame's wings are moulting. The country on either side of the river is strewn with skeletons. A pig approaches Napoleon carrying a musket and with a letter in its mouth. In "The Triumphal Entry into Paris with Dead Men's Bones," Napoleon rides a wooden horse drawn by his Marshals, one of whom has lost his leg. He wears, by way of disguise, a long dark cloak and broad-brimmed hat. He carries the world in his hands.[2] Other officers bring with them toys of all sorts as trophies, tied to poles. "Bread and Salt (hospitality), a peculiar Trait of the Russian Character" (February 14, 1813), is another instance of the caricatures in exaltation of Muscovite chivalry already alluded to. In this case "the great-souled warriors of Count Wittgenstein give their rations to hungry French prisoners" of singularly unprepossessing appearance. In "Heroic Determination of a Nonagenarian" we see a venerable old man who saves his comrades by persistently pretending to be dumb when threatened with the sword. He says calmly to his assailants: "I can't hear what you say, Little Father. I am very deaf. Please speak louder." The editor of *Son of the Fatherland* describes the incident as having actually occurred at the village Plankovoi, near Moscow. The printed caricature entitled "The Russian Style" (February 11, 1813) refers to a soldier of the Moscow Militia

[1] *Cf.* "Audacious attempt to possess the World."
[2] *Cf.* "Napoleon's Fame."

sacrificing his life with the intention of freeing his fatherland by murder from the wicked enemy, Napoleon. In mistake he plunges his spear through the body of a Polish Colonel, "an event to the glory of Russia which took place at the entrance of the French into Moscow."

"A Goat or Cossack. Where is the Goat?" is a punning caricature on the Russian word *koza*, which signifies both. An old woman shouts: "There, my sons, out with you, out with you!" and four French soldiers take to their heels precipitately. Through the open window is seen a goat resting peacefully beneath a shed. There is neither date nor signature on "Napoleon's Retreat from Russia with his French Generals." They are apparently crossing the ice when the horses become unmanageable and upset the sledge, to the evident discomfiture of its occupants. Napoleon is again held up to ridicule in "The Conqueror of the World," in which he is depicted as leaving Russia, disguised in a long coat and hat, seated in a common country cart. In "The Knout" we see a Cossack administering a sound flogging to a French cavalry officer, who loses his sword in vainly trying to ward off the blows. The Cossack shouts: "Shall I not give you another so that you may remember us!" Below are the words: "With what did he conquer the enemy? With a knout." "The Destruction of the Prussian Mushroom," by Terebenef, is the latest of the Russian caricatures the author has met with. It relates to Napoleon's proclamation against Prussia. The Emperor seizes a huge mushroom which springs from a heap of rocks bearing various inscriptions, such as "We will drive the barbarians back to their terrible climate," "Prolongation of Armistice for six months," "Comple-

Когорты *(посольство отъ ополченій)*
и Наполеоново бѣгство изъ Россіи со Славою.

THE PIG MESSENGER

tion of the French Empire," and " The House of Hohenzollern has ceased to reign. Each Prussian province will belong to the Marshal who conquers it. Austria is in full accord with me. The mushroom proves too big for Napoleon to grasp." From his hinder pockets protrude papers inscribed, " March on Berlin," and " Peace conditions which I propose to the Allied Powers." Within a few months the Czar of Russia and the King of Prussia had entered Paris in triumph.

CHAPTER XXV

NAPOLEON IN THE CARICATURES OF HOLLAND, 1800–1816

"Vous me parlez des plaintes des habitants d'Amsterdam, de leurs inquiétudes, de leur mécontentement. Est-ce que les Hollandais me prendraient pour leur grand pensionnaire, Barnevelt? Je ne conçois rien â ce langage. Je ferai ce qui est convenable au bien de mon Empire. . . . Je n'ai point pris le gouvernement de la Hollande pour consulter le populace d'Amsterdam."—*Napoleon to Lebrun, Lieut-Governor in Holland, from Paris, September* 25, 1810.

FROM the middle of the sixteenth century down till the end of the reign of Louis XIV. the Dutch caricaturists were famous throughout the length and breadth of Europe. As far as pictorial satire was concerned the Netherlands served to a great extent as both the manufactory and the emporium of the Continent. Prints and books which could not be produced in London, Paris, and elsewhere without imminent peril to the authors, were engraved or printed at the Hague or some other Dutch town, and then exported to their *pays d'origine*. As early as 1580 the Dutch print, "In the Balance," was used as a weapon in the struggle between the Calvinists and the Armenians. Twenty years later Allardt produced the engraving, "The Bible in the Scales," in which the sacred volume is made to weigh down a portly monk, to the delight of Calvin, Luther, and the Reformers, and the evident discom-

fiture of the Pope and his Cardinals.[1] Half a century later Clement de Jonghe was responsible for the caricature, "The Testament of the Parliament," while C. van de Paz engraved the "Image of the Proud Republic," showing "Proud England accompanied by all evil spirits" spitting "on the golden peace of the Netherland State," from which the adherents of the Stuarts were now importing numberless caricature portraits of Cromwell, Fairfax, Essex, and other prominent men. It was from Holland that the various prints came which ridiculed in turn the papistical tendencies of James II., the suspicious circumstances which attended the birth of the Old Pretender, and the financial delinquencies of the projectors of the Mississippi Scheme in France and the South Sea Bubble in England. Between 1688 and 1705 the Dutch caricaturists constituted themselves the champions of the French Protestants against the persecutions of the "Sun King," who discovered in those artists of the Low Countries adversaries worthy of his steel. Albert Flamen's "Jansenism Struck by Lightning," in which, about 1655, the young French king, Louis XIV., figures as a boy, had its pendant fifty years later in "The Persecutions of the French Protestants in France from 1685 to 1699," in which Tangena depicts, in thirteen vignettes, the horrible sufferings endured by the Huguenots at the hands of the same sovereign.

Under these circumstances great things might have

[1] The same theme was effectively employed against Napoleon both in England and France (see Appendices A and D). It was also used in his celebrated print by David Hess, the Swiss caricaturist, who was an officer in a Swiss regiment serving in Holland towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the author of the collection of satirical plates, "Hollandia Regenerata" (see ch. xxvi.).

been hoped for from the Dutch artists of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. So strong, however, was the influence of France and Napoleon in Holland up till the last months of 1812, when the Grand Army of Napoleon was practically annihilated by the Cossacks, materially assisted by those all-powerful Russian generals "Frost" and "Snow," that one looks in vain for Dutch prints in ridicule of the "Conqueror," who affected to think so little of the wishes and aspirations of his once obsequious subjects in Amsterdam and the Low Countries generally. The hand of the Dutch designers of caricatures had, however, not entirely lost their cunning, but the passive attitude of the inhabitants of the Netherlands during the whole of the first decade of the nineteenth century is reflected in the stolid, wide-breeched, pipe-smoking, schnapps-swilling Hollanders, who constantly appear in the English prints of Gillray, Rowlandson, Woodward, and the Cruikshanks. Even when the reawakening of 1813–14 came, there was comparatively little enthusiasm displayed by these patient, long-suffering victims of Napoleon's tyranny, who had been half-ruined by the fatal errors of the fiscal policy which it was hoped would destroy England.

"Our caricature of Napoleon," writes Dr. H. E. Greve in the *Elsevir Illustrated Magazine* (Amsterdam, March 1907), "cannot even claim a spirit of truth and fairness. Esser certainly gave utterance to public opinion with his cartoon entitled 'The Madhouse.' It bears this inscription: 'Here (in Elba) dwells Napoleon, who in pure madness endeavoured to conquer the world, and now, after losing his throne, lost all reason,' the sentinel remarking: 'This lunatic must be kept locked-up, other-

wise he might be dangerous.' On the other hand we are compelled to admit that Dutch caricature played a befitting part in connection with the struggle for liberty. It indicates so plainly Holland's indebtedness to England, Prussia, and especially to Russia, with its ferocious regiments of Cossacks. Numerous prints display the familiar figure of a Cossack soldier, the well-fed but fierce English bull-dog, while the Austrian and Prussian eagles may be seen plucking the French cock or hurling heraldic bolts of lightning after the retreating Emperor. Holland plays a minor part, and the Dutch lion was not likely to claim a lion's share after the chase. A cartoon by Rowlandson gives a true idea of Holland's position in those times. About eight different nationalities are seen busily engaged harrowing Napoleon, while on top of the harrow a stout, well-fed Dutchman, one hand in a pocket of his wide breeches and calmly smoking his pipe, lets the others draw him along.[1] Curiously enough the person of the then Prince of Orange appears in none of these caricatures, although all the Stadtholders, from Maurice down to William, have had their turn in contemporary prints. There are nevertheless some allusions, of course, to the return of an Orange."

Caricature-Almanacks appeared in Holland in 1792, 1796, and 1798. Those of 1800 and 1801 are manifestly a continuation of them. That of the last year of the eighteenth century bears the title of "The Lantern for 1800, by Amurath Effendi Hekim Bachi," the *nom de plume* of the artist and author, Peter van Woenzel, whose amusing pictures owed something both to Gillray and Duncker. Dr. Greve and M. G. van Rijn agree in

[1] See Appendix A, No. 237.

identifying a figure in one of van Woenzel's witty drawings, viz. that entitled "The Entry of the Trojan Horse into Bestiana in the Eighteenth Year of the Birth of Mr. Mischief," as that of Napoleon. One of the invaders, standing beneath the head of the gigantic animal, not only strikes a familiar Napoleonic attitude, but wears the Turco-French uniform, reminiscent of the Egyptian campaign, from which the First Consul returned in October 1799. Although at first sight van Woenzel seems to favour the principles of the French Revolution, he really turns them into ridicule. Before the horse, an old man—apparently a Jew pedlar—wheels a barrow full of cabbages. He vigorously cries his wares, but the word "cabbages" (*kool*) in Dutch means also "rubbish." On the side of the barrow is a slip of paper removable at will. This discloses the words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"; but below is another slip lettered "Selfishness, Revenge, and Ambition." A parrot perched on the rail of a platform shrieks "Rights for Polly," while a quack doctor mounted on it displays a scroll inscribed "Rights of Man." The banner of some patriotic association protrudes from a window, and children standing around the supposed figure of Napoleon scatter flowers before the Trojan invader. Dr. Greve points out that "by adding 18 to 1769, the year of Napoleon's birth, you obtain the date 1787, the epoch of the French invasion."[1] It is possible that the plate is after all an adaptation of an older caricature, but Napoleon could not possibly

[1] *Elsevir Magazine*, March 1907, p. 163. It is impossible to follow this reasoning. In 1787 a civil war broke out between the supporters of the House of Orange and the so-called Patriots. It was not until 1793 that the French invaded the country. In 1787, however, the Orangists favoured the Prussians and the Patriots the French.

by W. Esper Kunsthandelaar in de Spuystraat bij de N.o 3. a. Hage.
OM HET GEDAANE AAN HET MENSCHDOM TE WREEKEN WILDE
HEM ZOO DOOR STEEKEN.

THE COSSACK'S SPEAR. 1813

have appeared in the semi-oriental garb which the artist, according to Dr. Greve and Mr. G. van Rijn, gives him before 1799 or 1800. The contemporaries of Woenzel, Smies, Marcus, and Simons never trespassed on the domain of politics, but like Woenzel himself (with the solitary exception already indicated), were prudent enough to leave the monopoly of anti-Napoleonic caricature entirely in the capable hands of Gillray, Rowlandson, and the Cruikshanks. For the first-named artist Dr. Greve has unbounded admiration. As we have already seen, Champfleury esteemed his services as little less valuable than those of Wellington.[1] Dr. Greve would place his statue by the side of that of Nelson.

The materials from which a list of the Dutch caricatures against Napoleon which appeared between 1812 and 1816 can be compiled are more abundant than in the case of either Italy or Spain. In addition to the bulky catalogue of the Muller Collection, which appeared some years ago, Mr. G. van Rijn is reponsible for the still more exhaustive *Atlas Van Stolk*, in the eighth volume of which he enumerates the various Napoleonic caricatures to be found in the vast collection of engravings of every description relating to the history of the Netherlands, formed by ex-Mayor A. van Stolk of Rotterdam. Mention must also be made of the fine collection of satirical prints to the completion of which Mr. G. van Gijn of Dordrecht has devoted half a century. Both Mr. van Rijn and Mr. van Gijn have given the present writer the benefit of their knowledge and advice.

That at the start Holland borrowed largely from

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 35.

other countries, as Dr. Greve points out, there can be no doubt; but there are traces of distinct individuality in some of the caricatures of W. Esser, Art Dealer, of 31 Spuijstraat, The Hague, although he too copied largely from the cartoons of the German J. M. Voltz,[1] as well as in the large print, "The Flight of Napoleon," by C. Bock.[2] Dr. Greve is somewhat severe on his compatriot Esser, of whom he speaks thus: "His work was undoubtedly done conscientiously; his colouring is not too loud; the slightest details have been given with wonderful accuracy. Nevertheless in his endeavour to be correct and academical, the artist becomes too pretentious, and we cannot help calling Esser's art pedantic. In spite of brilliant colouring and the clever grouping of figures, these cartoons are lacking in life; lions and eagles seem to have been copied from their heraldic brethren, and dogs and horses after stuffed specimens. In all of Esser's drawings we invariably find the head of Napoleon in profile to the left, which would lead us to believe that the artist used only one particular portrait as an example. There is no evidence of action, life, or even imagination. Look at the lazy, comfortable position of Napoleon as 'Papa Violet,'[3] with his nightmare John Bull sitting on his chest. The artist would have him cry out, 'Mercy, mercy, I am too weak to throw you off,' but could ever any one have prayed for his life in this manner?"

Nearly the whole of the Dutch caricatures relating to Napoleon are carefully described by Mr. G. van Rijn in the eighth volume of his elaborate *Atlas Van Stolk*,

[1] See *ante*, ch. xxii., and *post*, ch. xxix. [2] See *post*, p. 199.
[3] See *post*, p. 193.

THE RAT IS IN THE TRAP

and a tabulated list of them will be given in Appendix H. The first of these satirical prints appeared in the Netherlands either quite at the end of 1812, when the news of Napoleon's disasters in Russia and his precipitate return to Paris spread all over Europe, or at the beginning of 1813. Before the year was out, on November 17, Holland once more passed under the dominion of the House of Orange. A certain number of English caricatures were circulated in Holland accompanied by explanatory broadsides in Dutch. Amongst these were George Cruikshank's "The Review of the French Troops on their Retreat through Smolensko,"[1] and the singularly repulsive anonymous print, "The Birth of Bonaparte."[2] Copies of these curious broadsides are in the collection of the writer. Little time was lost in preparing caricatures of home manufacture, but from foreign sources. It was from Germany a Dutch artist derived the idea of "Spanish and Cossack Offers."[3] In this instance the dialogue was slightly changed, the Spaniard being made to ask Bonaparte if he wanted some Spanish wine instead of some Spanish bitters. "The Cossack's Spear," by W. Esser, now reproduced, comes undoubtedly from a Russian source, the general treatment of the subject reminding one forcibly of the work of Ivan Terebenef, so often referred to in the chapter dealing with Russian caricatures of Napoleon. The explanatory words below the prints run: "To avenge the wrongs done to mankind I will run him through in this manner." According to the *Atlas Van Stolk*, no less than three states of this plate are in existence. "The Lucky Hunter" was

[1] See Appendix A, 758. [2] See Appendix A, 49.
[3] See *ante*, ch. xxii. p. 117, and Appendix E, 117.

copied by W. Esser from the German original of which J. M. Voltz was probably the author.[1] The words below it—"This buck have I shot in Moscow"—have the same double meaning in both Dutch and German. One of the first of the Dutch caricatures, "The Fool," consists of a fine profile head of Napoleon surmounted by a cap and bells lettered "Fool's Cap." From the top of this an armed Cossack threatens to strike the Emperor's nose with his lance, saying: "I will annihilate him, the First Deserter." By the side of the star of the Legion of Honour is a small decoration consisting of the corpse of a malefactor hanging from a gallows, with the ominous words: "My fate below it." The "New Universal Monarch" is copied carefully from the German original which has been attributed to Voltz.[2] There is, however, one essential difference. In the Dutch version the river Rhine is substituted for the Elbe. The print is inscribed: "The New World-conqueror on his Throne founded for the Welfare of Mankind." "The Rats and the Regie" is an essentially Dutch caricature by Esser in ridicule of Napoleon's fiscal policy against England which had entailed so much misery on Holland. The custom-house officers are riding off, and an army of rats of all description attack the plant "Regie," a barrel of tobacco lettered N. K. (Kaiser Napoleon), and a huge bag on the outside of which one reads, "600 lbs. marked spoilers of commerce." Below are the words: "The gathering of the rats of the cellar with those of the custom-house." Some of the vermin are eagerly devouring the beetroot which Napoleon had utilised for the manufacture of sugar.

[1] See ch. xxii. p. 116, and Appendix E, 72.
[2] See ch. xxii. p. 119, and Appendix E, 94.

NAPOLEON RIDING A COCK TO ELBA. 1814

There is a series of six plates spoken of in the Muller Catalogue as "most rare," dealing facetiously with the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow and the victory of the Allies at Leipzic. These were designed and etched by W. Fock. They may be entitled "French Lot in the Moscow Lottery," "The Elements," "The Teetotum," "The Conscription," "Spain, Russia, and Leipsic," and "Eighteen Thirteen." In the second of these a shivering soldier, standing on a foot-warmer, is endeavouring to prevent his tongue from being frozen by holding it to a spirit lamp; in the third the great Napoleonic Teetotum is upset and crushes its owner, while the French eagle moults on a tree; in the fourth, a child runs off to escape conscription; in the fifth are depicted the events which happened in Spain, Moscow, and Leipzic. A Spaniard feels Napoleon's pulse, saying, "Fever." The Emperor is extended on a couch, inscribed: "Lack of provisions and brains. Headache." On the wall is a placard: "Spanish figs and English marbles" (bullets). Wellington is writing a despatch, and the cannon are lettered "Spanish pepper." No explanation of the other two compartments is necessary. In the sixth of Fock's plates is a shield hanging to two rings, inscribed: "One learns through harm and shame." Below is a block of ice on which lies the Rhinebund; a broken sceptre, a dead eagle, and a rat nibbling at the imperial crown.

"The Nightmare" is another Dutch caricature by W. Esser, ascribed by Mr. van Rijn in the *Atlas Van Stolk* to 1813. Napoleon lies on a bed. On his chest sits an enormous bull-dog personifying England. The dog says: "I do what I will with

him." Napoleon cries: "Mercy, mercy, I am too weak to defend myself!"[1] Dr. Greve, with some reason, criticises very unfavourably the artistic shortcomings of this plate, and the lack of vigour and expression in the figures.[2] "The Rat is in the Trap," now reproduced, is another of W. Esser's most popular prints. Below the picture of Napoleon in the trap are the words: "Here is the abject Corsican who dropped his hat and sword in his cowardly flight, and was overthrown by the brave and intrepid Russians for ever, so that we have no longer to fear this monster. Now he sits in a trap as an object of derision to all Napoleon's partisans." The fallen Emperor is apparently endeavouring to embrace an enormous orange, saying: "It was this that I longed for."[3] Another caricature of 1813, "The Lead Soldiers," cannot be minutely described. The Prussian eagle makes short work of the French eagle, which sheds its feathers abundantly over Napoleon's head. A Cossack attack is in progress, and the figures of the Emperor's brothers and generals are introduced in attitudes little less humiliating than that assigned to himself. The "Genealogical Tree of Buonaparte" was intended to produce in Holland the same effect as some of the grosser sort of broadsides did in England. At the top of the tree which springs from the ground strewn with broken arms and abandoned cannon and drums, is the following description of Napoleon's mother:—

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[1] The situation appears to the writer to suggest the date 1815 rather than 1813.

[2] See *ante*, p. 190.

[3] An obvious allusion to the former rulers of Holland.

THE CARICATURE VENDOR

"MARIE LAETIZIA RAMIOGLINI (*sic*)

Mother of Napoleon, known under the name of Madame, was daughter of a certain Ramioglini, whose widow afterwards married De Fesch. She was born August 24, 1730, and married Carlo Buonaparte, notary of Ajaccio. Afterwards she was mistress of the Conte de Marboef, Governor of Corsica. Out of her marriage with Buonaparte, as well as out of her unlawful love with Marboef, the following children were born, who thus form the living kindred of the despot of this century."

On other scrolls equally disparaging information is given concerning all Napoleon's brothers and sisters.

In April 1814 Napoleon's internment in the island of Elba is finally decided on. By this time the Dutch were singing merrily—

"'Tis good orange colour,
And it has the old nice flavour.
Your nose need not fear it.
Every one carries his colours on hat and breast
In Holland now—you are sneezing, O Prince,
May it bring you good luck."

or

"Hurrah! Orange is on top!
The Prince comes again to the Hague.
Now stand firm: cans, bottles, and glasses
Will want cleaning to-day."

The earliest caricatures of 1814 doubtless took the shape of the wholesale reproduction of the "corpse-heads" of Voltz,[1] of which Mr. van Rijn, in the *Atlas Van Stolk*, indicates at least five varieties. Two descriptive Dutch broadsides in verse relating to this print, in the possession of the present writer, lead him to think that,

[1] See ch. xxix., and Appendix H.

as in the case of the English caricatures of 1812–13, the German heads may also have been sold together with hate-stimulating broadsides.

The Elba Episode gave rise to a fresh flood of caricatures. In "From France to Corsica" the artists show little knowledge of drawing and still less of geography. Napoleon is being driven in a coach by a team of demons, a monkey holding the tricolour over his head. Below are the words: "Napoleon, in your bad beginning you wanted to conquer the world. Your cunning and ambition have brought you again to Corsica." "Napoleon Riding a Cock to Elba," now reproduced, is one of Esser's finest efforts both as regards colouring and design. The Emperor sits astride a great bird. He has feathers in his hat and a toy whip in his hand. Below is a brief inscription: "Now I must go with my cock to Elba." Although this print does not figure in the *Atlas Van Stolk*, it clearly appears in "The Caricature Vendor," an illustration of which is given from the copy in possession of Mr. W. Latta, of Chestnut Hall, Philadelphia. In this remarkable caricature the name "N. Bonaparte," inscribed beneath it, is formed out of tiny, grotesque portraits of the Emperor, who in the print itself is depicted in his usual military uniform. Beneath his right arm, to which are attached a portrait and the caricature, "Napoleon Riding a Cock to Elba," is a well-filled portfolio. He holds two poles, one of them surmounted by the imperial eagle, to which are fastened fifteen easily recognisable Dutch satirical prints, those known as "The Madhouse" and "The Cossack's Spear" amongst them. As the prints thus displayed are those published by W. Esser of the Hague, "The

ALGEMENE AANVAL OP DEN RUSVERSTOORDER NAPOLEON OF PAPA VIOLET S.C.

Caricature Vendor" should certainly be attributed to him.

Another of these grotesque Elba prints is described as "The Voyage to the Island of Elba, or Bonaparte and his Suite Travelling on a Waterspout to the Moon." Napoleon is represented as half-man, half-animal. He is stepping with twisted legs from a rock into the sea carrying an enormous beetroot. The Dutch could not easily forgive him the dearness of sugar and the other hardships they had suffered from during nearly ten years through the fatal fiscal policy which had a great deal to do with King Louis's resignation. Behind him are devils carrying insulting placards. One of them is the bearer of a shield charged with the moulting eagle of France. A far better caricature is "The Press of the Allies," now reproduced, in which we see the Emperor in his gorgeous robes thrust into a press which is being turned by the representatives of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, so that he is compelled to disgorge his various conquests. Holland, Poland, Spain, Moscow, Brabant, Saxony, Belgium, and Hamburg fall from his mouth in rapid succession. Although the same theme has done duty in England and elsewhere, this print is of Dutch origin. Below are the following words: "How he is pressed so that now his ribs are cracking, and he is forced to vomit forth all he robbed. He is nearly bursting with spite, but that does not help him in the least, for he sees his proud ambition foiled." "The Madhouse," another of Esser's good caricatures, is now reproduced. Napoleon is in a cell with a grated window. Over it flies a flag inscribed: "Sovereign in the Elba Madhouse." Through the grating he holds out a decoration towards the sentry,

saying: "I will dub you a knight." The soldier replies: "This fool ought to be detained in custody, or he will become dangerous." Below the window are the lines: "Here sits Napoleon, who, whilst an Emperor, sought to subdue the world by his madness, and who subsequent to his dethronement has lost his reason." Rats are supposed to represent the King of Westphalia, King Louis, and the chiefs of the Customs and Police. Above the first rat are the words: "We stick to our master."

"The General Attack on the Disturber of Peace, *alias* Papa Violet," was one of the most popular caricatures of the summer of 1815. Napoleon, wearing the Phrygian cap and tricolour cockade, is depicted as driven towards the sea by the lion of Holland, the bull-dog of England, and the cock of France, while the eagles of Prussia and Austria hurl thunderbolts on him from above, and that of Russia attacks him with a lance; in the background a group of male and female peasants (one of the latter bearing a strong resemblance to Cambacérès) threaten him with flails and a pair of tongs. The Cossack spears are just visible above the ridge of the hill. The identity of the different personages is denoted by numbers. The following dialogue is also given :—

Napoleon. "Mercy! I renounce everything."

Prussia. "My old heroes reappear to free the world of this monster."

Austria. "My first thunderbolt hits Murat; and now I strike Napoleon."

Russia. "The lance of my Cossacks will thrust him into the sea."

Three ships are seen in the offing.

C. Bock's " Flight of Napoleon " (August 1815) is one of the largest and most important of the Dutch anti-Napoleonic caricatures, but the reproduction scarcely does justice to its wealth of detail. In the centre of the plate is a female classical figure personifying " The Liberty of Holland," standing on a pedestal. In one hand she holds a ponderous spear bearing the Orange flag and surmounted by Napoleon's customary head-gear. Below are the words : " My image now being complete and pleasing me, I give it one last touch, and on the top of the lance I place very comically Buonaparte's little hat." To the right we see the members of the French Chambers assembled for their session of July 7, and who utter various exclamations The national scarf has now superseded the Emperor's bust. The identity of the different groups is indicated by numbers, thus :—

1. Advance Guard of the Allies. 2. Commanders of the same.
3. Envoy from Paris. 4. Statue of " Holland's Liberty."
5. Murat. 6. National Guard of Paris.
7. Assembly of the Peers and Provisional Government.
8. Bust of Napoleon replaced by national scarf.
9. Jewellers. 10. Spoils of war. 11. An astrologer.
12. A peasant. 13. A mathematician.

The exclamations and ejaculations of the legislators are also denoted by Roman numerals. To the right are two jewellers, one of them evidently a Hebrew. Before them is a heap of plate, an imperial eagle, a miniature of Marie Louise, Napoleon's pocket-book, a proclamation " given at our Palace of Laeken," and a box of cockades lettered " For the brave French conquerors of Belgium, 18 June 1815." On the other side, to the left, the astrologer, the peasant, and the mathematician are

seated at a table. While the first-named looks through a telescope at the fast-vanishing figure of Napoleon, carried on a whirlwind towards the moon by a terrible monster combining the traditional attributes of Death and the Devil, and cries, "It is no man!" the mathematician writes on a scroll: "He reigned 100 days, spent 600 millions, caused the death of 350,000 men, and calls that governing for the good of his people." The astronomer continues: "What mortal man can demonstrate that in the moon which shows to all eyes both dark or light spots, and through the glass appears to possess valleys, seas, and rivers, men are living too?" The peasant rejoins: "Yes, yes! I will prove to you that you see many men rise up to it, to whom fortune was not kind here. Look how Buonaparte, who once challenged the whole of Europe, is flying astride Death and the Devil to the moon." Napoleon cries from mid-air: "Good-bye, my trusted councillors, may you die at your seats, and you, my brave soldiers, fight on till you are all killed. I go away." Murat, standing disconsolate on the sea-shore, says: "Where shall I land?" Ships are visible in the distance. No description is necessary of the one or two poor prints on the subject of Napoleon's real or supposed sufferings in St. Helena. Although "William of Nassau, the sixth of his name," as the popular song runs, was proclaimed King of the United Netherlands, the Dutch soon discovered fresh grievances, and the Dutch caricaturists new subjects for the exercise of their talents.

N.B.—The full title of the Muller Catalogue mentioned in this chapter is "Dutch History recorded in Prints. An exhaustive description of Dutch Historical Prints, Caricatures, and Maps," b Frederick Muller. 4 vols. 1863–1882.

CHAPTER XXVI

NAPOLEON IN THE CARICATURES OF SWITZERLAND AND SCANDINAVIA

"Two voices are there; one is of the sea,
One of the mountains; each a mighty voice.
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice.
They were thy chosen music, liberty!
Then came a tyrant, and with holy glee
Thou fought'st against him; but hast vainly striven.
Thou from thy Alpine holds at length are driven."

—WORDSWORTH, *Thoughts of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland.*

"For the illustrious Swede hath done
The thing which ought to be; he stands above
All consequences; work he hath begun
Of fortitude, and piety, and love,
Which all his glorious ancestors approve;
The heroes bless him, him their rightful son."

—WORDSWORTH, *Sonnet to the King of Sweden.*

THE Swiss caricatures of Napoleon are of more than ordinary interest by reason of the early date (1797) at which they appeared and the intimate knowledge they show of the events of Napoleon's first campaign in Italy, and the changes and complications they led to. The story of the acts of wanton aggression, gross injustice, and diplomatic double-dealing by which, between 1798 and 1802, France contrived to transform the ancient Helvetic Confederation, first into three states called respectively *La Rhodanique*, *L'Helvétie*, and *La Telliane*, and then into the "Hel-

vetic Republic," one and indivisible, is beyond the scope of this work. Nor does the subsequent "Mediation" of Switzerland immediately concern us.

That Bonaparte was cognisant of the schemes which were to be carried out through the instrumentality of Brune and others there cannot be the smallest doubt. He must have been aware of the acts of oppression done by the notorious Rapinat, of whom Philip Bridel wrote :—

"Le bon Suisse qu'on assassine
Voudrait au moins qu'on décidât
Si Rapinat vient de rapine
Ou Rapine de Rapinat."

Coming events in Switzerland must have cast their shadows forward quite early, for it was in 1797 that Coleridge sung :—

"Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,
From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns sent—
I hear thy groans upon her blood-stained streams.
Heroes, that for your peaceful country perished,
And ye that, fleeing, spot your mountain-snows
With bleeding wounds; forgive me, that I cherished
One thought that ever blessed your cruel foes."

In the course of 1799 the "Central Citadel of Europe" became, in spite of herself, a veritable cock-pit in which the Powers contended for supremacy during Bonaparte's absence in Egypt. It was not till three years later that the promulgation of the First Consul's "Act of Mediation" which restored the old designation of the "Helvetic Confederation," enabled the fatherland of William Tell to recover something of her former prosperity. During these long years of storm and stress the Swiss carica-

Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8

urists made no sign, although at a somewhat later eriod two of them, David Hess of Zurich and Girardet, id good work in furtherance of the German uprising. n 1797 extraordinary skill and energy was shown in is direction by Anton Dunker, a citizen of Berne, hose illustrated *feuilleton, The Moral and Political ourier*,[1] served at this juncture pretty much the me purpose as the *Anti-Jacobin* and the *Anti-Gallican* id in England, and the *Son of the Fatherland* subse-uently did in Russia. Duncker's set of quarto etchings fford ample proof of his powers both as an artist nd satirist. They contain, moreover, several excellent erious portraits of Bonaparte. If they found their way o London, as was more than probable, any doubt hich may have at first existed as to the personal ppearance of the "Conqueror of Italy," must have isappeared before he left Toulon with the firm inten-on of "drying up the sources of English wealth in the rient."

In the Dunker etchings a free use is made of the ieroglyphic letter, a form of caricature adopted a few ears later by the English satirists who scourged the eccadilloes of the Royal Dukes of York and Clarence. he first of these letters (with which the *Moral-Political ourier* begins) is dated St. Petersburg, and the text iterally interpreted) reads thus :—

"Reigning princes may conduce to the happiness of undreds of thousands of men, if, like Paul I., they have

[1] The full title of Dunker's publication was *Moralish-Politischer Kurier lcher Grosse und Kline Vorfälle unserer Zeiten mit blumenreicher doch sselnder Feder Schildest.* ["*The Moral-Political Courier*, which describes occurrences of our times, both great and small, with a flowery yet ustic pen."]

a heart for that purpose. The Monarch in person seek out the poor in their gloomy dwellings, in order to supply their wants, and give them a lift. The coronation ceremony at Moscow will be a very magnificent and solemn one. The ambassadors of foreign powers will be present in the most gorgeous display, and representatives are expected from every Russian province."

The next sheet deals with the rumoured partition of Poland and the fate of Venice. The former is portrayed by a coat of arms which is being mauled by three black eagles. A shell bursts in the background, of which fragments alight here and there on the map of Poland. In order further to characterise the situation, some bee-hives are brought in on a shield, which signify the fertility and flourishing agriculture of certain Polish provinces. Then we see the motto of the order of the Polish Eagle, which translated (into German) reads "For our Faith, our Laws, our King." The Genius of Poland tries hard to rescue the shield, but the strap snaps, and he finds himself compelled to relax his hold.

As regards the impending fate of the "Queen of the Adriatic," Venice sees herself deserted by a considerable number of her towns, which are pictured as persons wearing civic crowns. They have broken the chains held by the Venetian Lion, and are making for a "Tree of Liberty." *Pax tibi, Marce Evangelista!* is inscribed on the coat of arms, which translated (into German) reads: "Peace be with Thee, Mark the Evangelist," and so forth.

In the third plate the relations of the French Directory and the Papacy are touched on. The allusions to the exhalations from the marshes of the Cam-

Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8

gna are not altogether favourable to the latter. The ench troops are shown as invading Italy, Bonaparte ing cleverly represented as a comet. In the far dis- nce is the basilica of St. Peter's, around which dense ouds are gathering. The Gallic cock complacently rveys through a glass a choice collection of Roman lics, statues, pictures, and other antiquities.[1]

Meanwhile the Venetian Senate bids Bonaparte to feast, at which, by a strange conceit, the Lion of St. ark officiates as a waiter.[2]

In the centre of the fourth plate is an excellent rtrait of Napoleon. On one side of him is Hannibal, who terrified the ancient Romans, and Attila, the ng of the Huns, who marched upon Rome in great ath, threatening destruction to the Pope ; but shortly terwards he showed great reverence for Christ's Vicar, d treated him in a friendly spirit." Two cardinals d the Pope's nephew, Count Braschi, present to the mmander-in-Chief, General Bonaparte, a message om the Pope and await his answer. These events are picted in two scenes. In a third we see the interior the Pope's apartment. On receiving Bonaparte's ter he swoons, to the dismay of the attendant cardinals,

[1] These caricatures relate to the events of January and February 1797 *le* J. Holland Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 137). By the treaty of entino (Feb. 19), the Papal Government had to pay 30,000,000 francs to French, besides surrendering a hundred works of art to the victorious ublicans.

[2] The neutrality of Venetian territory was violated by the French on rch 26, 1796. The Austrians shortly afterwards occupied the fortress of chiera. A year later war was declared and 5000 French troops entered city "without a blow being struck against conquerors who came in the e of liberators." J. Holland Rose (*Life of Napoleon*, vol. i. p. 101 and 42). By the treaty of Campo Formio (Oct. 17, 1797), Austria acquired city of Venice and the greater part of her mainland territory.

who indulge in tears and lamentations. In three oth scenes are depicted the Papal tiara and slippers on th way to the melting-pot as a contribution to the w indemnity; the deplorable emptiness of the treasu of the Vatican, and the hasty removal from the church of paintings, vestments, and images of the Saints, order to satisfy the greed of the French invaders.

The first caricature of the "Second Book" is prefac by the somewhat naïve remark that "if the great on of the world were as poor as we are, they would certain hesitate before waging war. Now, however, peace at our door (as a matter of fact, a pot-house politici declares it has already been agreed to), and we live hopes of earning a few coppers from our newspaper In the first plate allusion is made to the capture by t English of the island of "Trinidad or Trinity" from t Spaniards.[1] In the opinion of the artist, "This spe on our globe is all the more important, because in th harbour ships find a shelter against storms, which that neighbourhood are said to be of the fiercest character

In the second plate Peace appears in the cloud By her side is the Horn of Abundance. Peace is adorn with a large crown of stars. Faces of cherubs clust together lovingly around her. In the lower part of t picture we see men of all classes and conditions, kin and beggars, rich and poor, and the inscription: *Descen Cœlo!* The next plate has a distinct English interes On one side is Pitt's warlike Ministry, and on the oth the people clamouring menacingly for a cessation

[1] Trinidad was taken by a force under the command of Sir Ral Abercromby on Feb. 18, 1797. On this occasion two Spanish ships of w were burned and three captured.

Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8

ostilities. Beneath the first are the words, "There is o salvation in War"; beneath the people, "We are all orking for Peace." In the central panel are seen the ustrian Emperor and Bonaparte negotiating for a ettlement after the manner of country folk. On each de of them are statues symbolical of the French *and nglish* Republics. At the foot of the plate is a satirical eference to the prohibition of "enlightening, philosophi- l publications in Portugal." In the next plate is a gure personifying the Rhine, "over whose belly the rench troops are entering Germany." Below are the ords, "Leave off tramping upon my stomach." Peace, ccompanied by Abundance, administers a sound kick Death. The explanatory inscription runs: "There no necessity to slash at or run through one another. 'were better indeed to enjoy what is at hand."

In the lower part of the first plate of Book III. the rench Republic, represented by a buxom female, with a ck perched on her head, is seen in the act of melting wn the church-plate brought from Italy. Above this portrayed by a hieroglyphic drawing the arrival of naparte's special messenger, booted and spurred, rrying a letter to the Venetian Doge and Senate. The enetian coat of arms shows signs of wear and tear, d peace proposals are made. The Senate offers to move to the mainland. No more Frenchmen are to killed, and a payment in cash is offered. In the next te we are shown a storm at sea. The French Republic the shape of a huge warship founders with all hands; e Papal barge is tossed to and fro by the waves, but e vessel bearing the arms of the thirteen Cantons ne "Ship of Switzerland") is anchored in calm water.

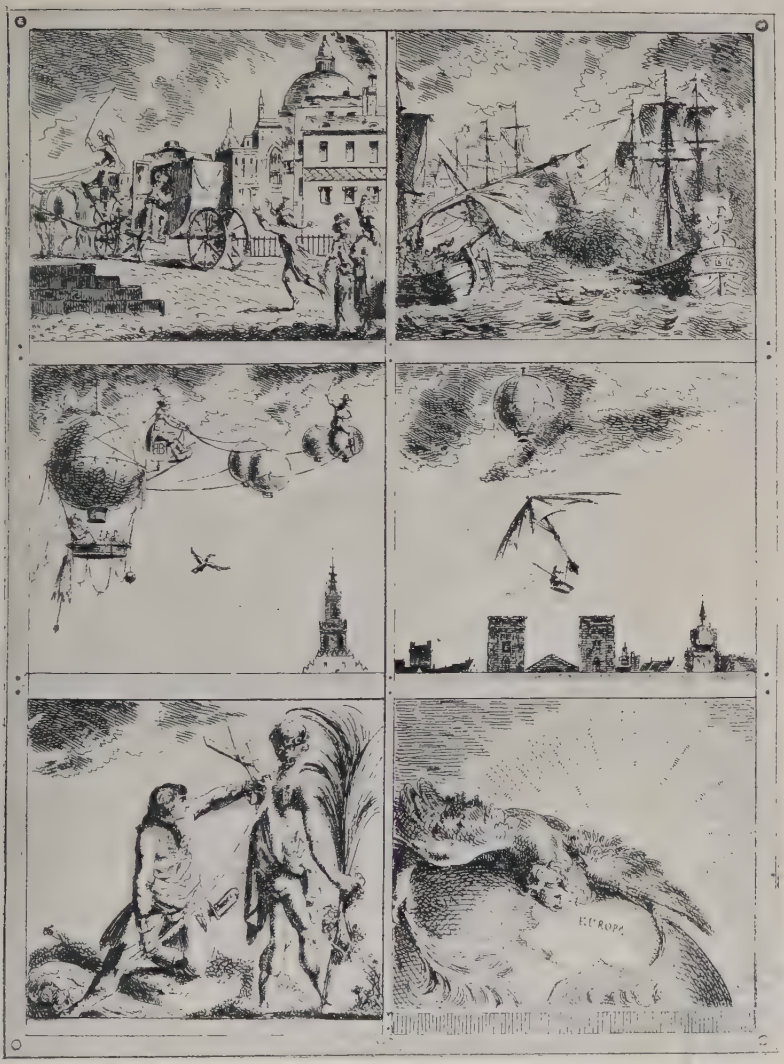
The balloon and parachute plate, which comes next, i exceedingly interesting. The following explanation i given of it in the text: "It was said at one time, tha the Peace Conference was to be held at Berne. In th expectation of the things that might happen there I sketched the Cathedral and part of the main street but I drew at the same time an airship, carrying a embassy, and hovering doubtfully in the upper regions whilst a messenger lets himself down haphazard by means of a parachute." Bonaparte is prominent amongs Dunker's aerial travellers, but the conference tool place at Rastadt in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and i was on his way thither that Bonaparte passed through Switzerland.[1] In the fourth plate Fame and Abundanc are presenting a medallion portrait of Barthélemy[2] t the Directors Barras, La Reillière-Lepeaux, Rewbel, an Carnot.

Book IV. of the *Moral-Political Courier* opens wit a somewhat puzzling hieroglyphic plate, the literal inter pretation of which runs thus :—

"When Crowned Heads, Republics, and Monarchie dash at one another on land and sea, on foot and o

[1] According to Schuermans' *Itinéraire*, p. 6, Napoleon was at Geneva o Nov. 21 (1797); at Rolle and Moudon on Nov. 22; at Morat and Avench on Nov. 23, and at Soleure and Bale on Nov. 24. On Nov. 25 he reache Rastadt, where the Convention was signed on Dec. 1.

[2] Barthélemy was French Ambassador to Switzerland in 1796–7. O Germinal 23, Year 4 (April 1, 1796), he forwarded a note from Mr. Wickhan the English Minister, inquiring whether France would be disposed to consid terms for a general peace. On April 30, 1797, Barthélemy was appointe Plenipotentiary at a Congress to be held at Berne, to which it was propose to send Bonaparte. The Congress, however, never came off. It w essentially *en l'air*. Hence the caricature. Barthélemy succeeded Letou neur as Director on May 26, 1797. This fact explains the caricature of th medallion portrait above described.



Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8

horseback, and when human blood has flowed in torrents; then, and then only must that heavenly child, (named) Peace, be transfixed with grief. People would certainly strike up a *Te Deum* more heartily if Peace were general; but this time it still only concerns the Emperor and the great Republic. There still remains the empire to be disposed of in various ways, nor do the English and the Dutch lay about each other for the fear of the consequences. We shall certainly abstain from political comment on this topic. May Heaven see that such soothsayers be in the wrong, as to maintain that this Peace will bring forth fatal feuds! In brief, the whole situation is as intricate as a Gordian knot; time alone can solve it."

In the next plate we have full-length portraits of Bonaparte and Augereau.[1] "The Pope walks on stilts as a symbol of assumed and tottering power. In the background one of Christ's vicars in old-time splendour. Death in the shape of a general, whilst considering the plans for a siege, is interrupted in its meditations by Peace, which dazzles its eyes with the light of a dark lantern."

The third plate is as complicated as it is interesting. In its six panels the following scenes are portrayed:—

1. Bonaparte, vexed at the dilatoriness of the Congress, wishes to quit it, but the Marquis de Gallo overtakes his coach, and peace is soon arranged.

2. Encounter at sea between the English and the Dutch near Texel Island.[2]

[1] Augereau, P. F. C. (1757–1816), distinguished himself at Millisimo, Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcola. He was the first to disregard the neutrality of Venice. It was Augereau who carried out the *coup d'état* of Fructidor (Sept. 4, 1797).

[2] This may allude to the defeat of the Dutch by Duncan at Camperdown. It certainly cannot by any possibility relate to the surrender of the Texel fleet two years later (August 30, 1799).

3. Blanchard[1] has discovered the management of the balloon, and travels from Lyons to Paris.

4. Filière, a citizen of Paris, lets himself drop, with the aid of a parachute, a distance of over 600 feet.

5. Bonaparte measures Peace for a new pair of wings.

6. Peace at length covers the earth with its protecting wings.

Dunker's last plate relates to the treaty of Rastadt, signed on December 1, 1797. It is, like the one which precedes it, divided into six panels, occupied by the following vignettes, viz.: (1) The God of War receives the news of the Peace; (2) Death is washing a number of decollated heads, "making them clean for the dark times which are to come"; (3) Winged figures support a scroll inscribed "Treaty of Rastadt"; (4) A design for fireworks in honour of the Peace. The initials R. F. and F. I. (*République Française* and *Franciscus Imperator*) figure in the centre of set pieces; (5) A political courier whips his steed heavily laden with documents; (6) Another courier mounted on a horse sings as a refrain—

> "Now I rode one way and now the other
> By day as well as by night,
> To be either well praised or well paid,
> But nothing came of it."

. . . . . .

Possibly in the last of his etchings Dunker portrayed his own situation as well as that of the Fatherland. Four months later (March 3) the Bernese Government

[1] François Blanchard (1738–1808). This aeronaut was the first to successfully cross the Channel in a balloon (1785), on which occasion Louis XVI. gave him 12,000 livres. In 1793–4 he visited New York. In 1797 he was making a parachute descent in France.

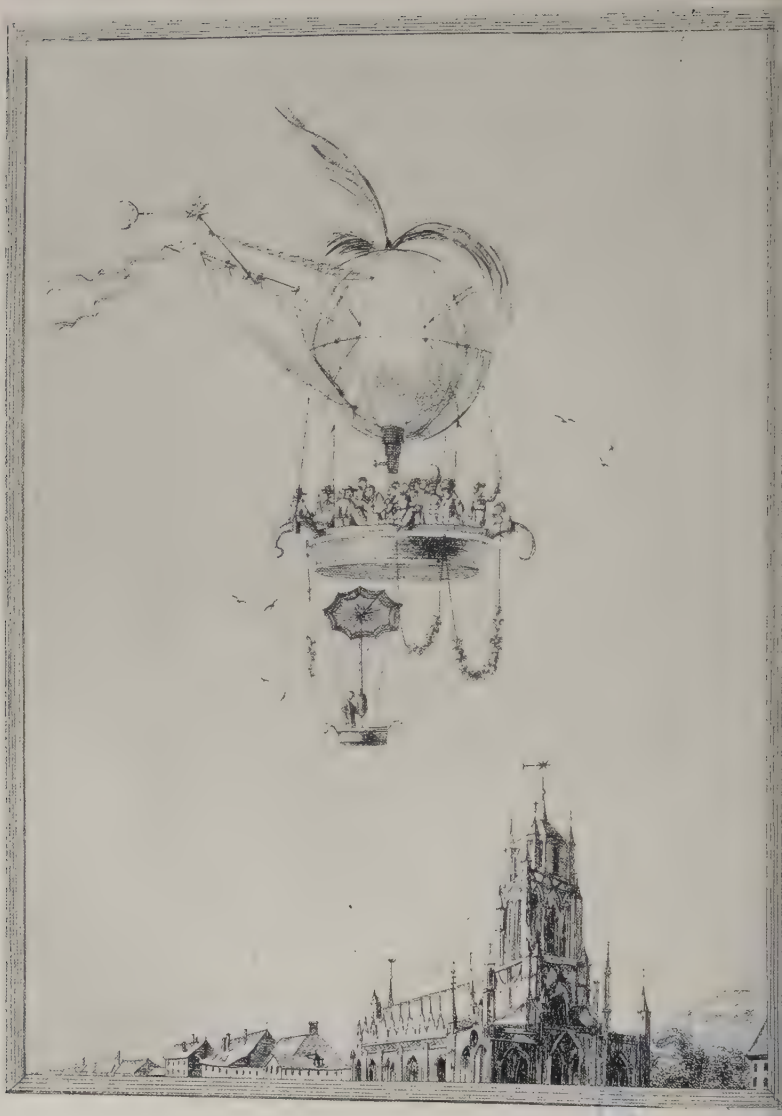
ceased to exist. On that day the French demolished the Ossuary of the Burgundians, "and the Directory, in reporting the occurrence to the Council of Five Hundred, mentioned, as a singular and, no doubt, ominous coincidence, that it was destroyed by the battalions of the Côte-d'Or (the descendants of the Burgundians)." At 1 P.M., on March 5, the French soldiers of Brun's army entered the almost deserted streets of the capital (a part of which figures in one of Dunker's plates), "with a degree of order and silence that appeared like a last tribute to the grandeur of Berne, and the heroism of her defenders" (Daguet). In the evening a "Tree of Liberty" was set up, and the President of the Provisional Committee, turning to the French general, said: "There is your 'Tree of Liberty,' may it bring forth good fruit." Under the new régime Dunker seems to have maintained a prudent silence.[1]

The rôle of the Swiss caricaturists, however, did not cease with the productions of Dunker. Throughout the whole of his career, Napoleon was a target for the satire of David Hess, a native of Zurich, whose earliest effort, a series of plates entitled *Hollandia Regenerata*, was published by Humphrey in 1796.[2] These satirical prints do not relate to Napoleon. A very

[1] Balthasar Anton Dunker was born at Saal, near Stralsund, in January 1746. He first studied under Jakob Philip Hackert, the German landscape painter, with whom he went to Paris in 1765. While there he profited by the lessons of Joseph Marie Vien and Noël Hallé. In 1772 he established himself at Bâle, but in the following year he removed to Berne, where four years later he acquired the rights of citizenship. His various works are mentioned in the text. He is chiefly remembered for the caricatures he published between 1797 and 1800. He died at Berne, April 2, 1807.

[2] M. John Grand-Carteret, in *Napoleon en Images*, refers erroneously to Humphrey as an etcher.

interesting account of Hess is given in the *Year Book of the Zurich Society for Fine Arts* for 1844, and a more complete biography of him will shortly be published in his native town. The *Year Book* contains a good portrait of the artist, engraved by J. H. Meger, after a drawing by Deschwanden. Born at Zurich on December 29, 1770, Hess joined, at the age of seventeen, a Swiss Regiment in the Dutch service. He did not finally quit Holland until 1796. His duties as a soldier did not prevent the constant exercise of his talents as an artist, poet, and musician. The plates of *Hollandia Regenerata* were accompanied by explanatory text in Dutch, English, and French. From 1796 Hess took up his residence in Zurich, where he continued to exercise his varied gifts, and acquired a practical knowledge of engraving. He died at Zurich, April 11, 1843. There is a large collection of his published works, together with twenty-six original water-colours and drawings in the Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft, but the curator, Dr. J. W. Wartmann, informs the writer that none of these, with one notable exception, relate to Napoleon. Dr. Wartmann points out that Hess was compelled either to have recourse to an English publisher, or to give his productions an English appearance. For a time Hess regarded Napoleon in the light of a deliverer from oppression and a pioneer of freedom, but from 1802 onwards (when the virtual annexation of his fatherland was decided on), Hess transferred to the French First Consul the intense hatred he bore the Jacobins of 1793–5. The more victories he won, the bitterer did Hess become. It was not till 1815 that he considered his crusade of satire at an end, and sung an exultant *Nunc Dimittis*.



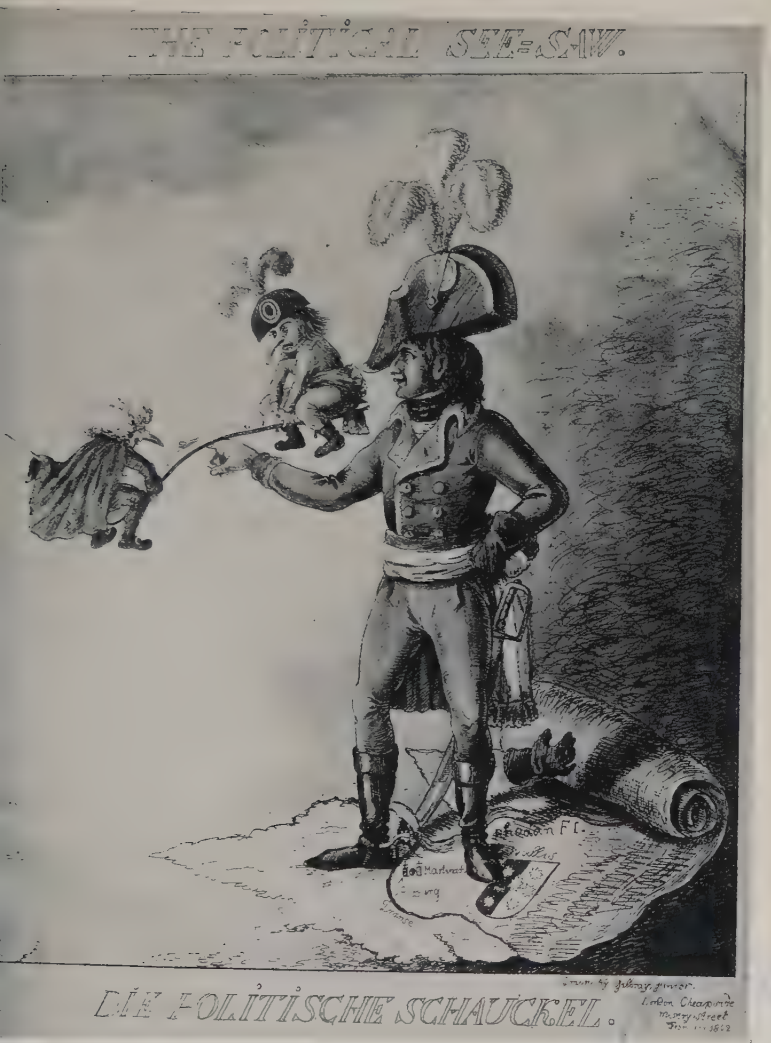
Caricature by Anton Dunker, 1797–8

The famous caricature of *Die Politische Schaukel*, or "The Political See-Saw," is reproduced from the plate in possession of the Society of Fine Arts at Zurich, but the writer also possesses an excellent impression of it. The following interesting description of the print, drawn up by the artist himself, is translated from the original now in the archives of that Society :—

The Political See-Saw, February 1802

Who does not recognise on this plate by the long and powerful finger stretched out towards the Cisalpine Republic the hero of the newest stories, the Corsican-Gallic Dwarf-Colossus Buonaparte? This nickname, although it possesses two different meanings, suits him all the better because Buonaparte is indeed small both in stature and extraction, and reaches many a tall man up to the shoulders only. For all that he has known how to create for himself so colossal an aspect that in North, South, East, and West, he is respected and feared, deified and denounced as a heretic, blessed and cursed, and has already disturbed the repose of many a prince, and the digestion of a good many statesmen. On him and on every movement of his lips, are fastened the looks of all parties alike, especially in the regenerated lands which are fortunate enough to stand in close relationship of alliance and blood-friendship with the French Republic. Before all, Helvetia tarries full of ardent desire for the final decision which shall decree a constitution for her, by means of which she will obtain the long-promised happiness she has missed for so many years. From this long-expected constitution, which is looked forward to as manna from heaven, and from the drastic working of which the sanguine old aristocracy anticipate as many advantages for itself as their opposites of the French

democracy. Both send plenipotentiaries to the oracle, lend ear to the mystic words he utters, and each after his own manner expounds their meaning. In these circumstances what does the Great Man do? With perfect politeness, and without displeasing either party, he gives to each in turn momentary advantages, while he makes both like light phantasms rock to and fro on a thin and pliant plank set upon his finger. Each imagines he is the better off. At this moment the Helvetian Democrat, girt with tricolour sash and feathers, is uppermost, and grins with jealous eyes at the Aristocrat down below, who directs a beseeching glance to the Great Helper of All Needs, and who nurses the consoling thought that even if the other is now on top, he, at all events, has the greater weight on his side. If, on the other hand, he mounts higher, then he can rejoice in obtaining a higher position, and so the see-saw continues everlastingly, while the soft motion rocks both parties in a sweet intoxication, during which they fail to notice the growth of their noses, now visibly lengthening as if very soon to join one another in an amicable greeting. If only these good people will clutch fast at the see-saw so that neither can fall from his perilous perch and collapse into the unfathomable abysm of Nothingness, along with his counterpoise who is bound to follow him, they can proceed unconcernedly with their little game. The Great Man is so intently busy with them that he is not even aware that his spur has caught in the map of Switzerland, which lies unrolled for the delimitation of the frontiers, and that a piece is torn off from the Canton de Valais. Anxiously, like the sensitive plant, the map rolls itself up again automatically, as if frightened at a phantom lurking in the vicinity, which is nothing more nor less than Buonaparte's discarded glove, which has retained a grasping disposition from the impression given to it by the hand it covered. Hence it clings to the roll



THE POLITICAL SEE-SAW
By David Hess, 1802

of paper, although the master-hand no longer fills it. This glove, however, is not thrown down as a gauge of battle, for hostilities are not to be thought of between protector and protégé. The Great Man let it fall merely so as to be able to occupy himself with a gentle hand and the more expeditiously with these Helvetians who have drifted apart through a misunderstanding about *meum* and *tuum*. Whether the direction of the finger supporting the see-saw has a definite meaning, and perchance indicates by its action the advice to imitate the Cisalpines who are flying the French flag on the citadel of Milan, and choose a mighty Consul who can put an end to all the foregoing troubles, is uncertain, as dark clouds veil the background of the scene.

In 1801 Hess had produced another Napoleonic print entitled " The Billeting of Soldiers in Town and Country," as well as a series of humorous prints to which he gave the name of *Scharringelhof*, but which bore his pseudonym of Daniel Hildebrand. In 1808 he attacked the phrenologist Gall in a series of plates entitled *Cranoscopische Handgriffe*, but in the same year in the caricature " Vienna and Berlin " he depicted Napoleon between two women to whom he gave the names of the capitals of Austria and Prussia. Switzerland possessed a third caricaturist in the person of Abram Louis Girardet, of Neuchatel (1764–1823). As might be expected no country suffered more severely from Napoleon's fiscal system than the Helvetian Confederation under its august protector. Moved by the hardships endured by his fellow-countrymen, Girardet produced in 1806 the plate he called " Metempsychosis of the Merchandise of England, Saxony, and Switzerland, and Colonial Produce carried out at Neuchatel on August 1 and the following days, and graciously

terminated during the above-mentioned month." The fun of the thing consists in a bonfire being ultimately made of the whole of the condemned goods. Another caricature, "The Café Lisel" (1811), has already been described.[1] Although by Girardet, it appeared in Germany.

The Scandinavian caricatures of Napoleon are entirely confined to Sweden. These are few in number, and nearly the whole of them copied from German or English originals. It was not till many years later that a generation of Swedish caricatures arose to attack the foreign policy of Bernadotte. In the Royal Library, Stockholm, is a Swedish version by J. G. Ruckman of "The Devil's Darling." In the Royal Library at Upsala is a lithograph containing figures showing Napoleon's rise to the imperial throne and his subsequent downfall. Below in Swedish are the words, "He for a long time filled the world with the noise of his exploits, and at last with the echoes of his fall." The probable date of this print is 1815.

There is another lithograph, dated 1821, in the Royal Library at Stockholm. In this Napoleon is depicted under a tree at St. Helena engaged in blowing soap bubbles, on which the various episodes of his life, from his childhood till his final downfall, appears. Beside him lies a paper inscribed "10 [*sic*] May 1821." The two corpse-heads of Napoleon, "Triumph of the Year 1813," by Ruckman and Söderberg, are described in the chapter devoted to the consideration of this important print.[3] Dr. E. W. Dahlgren says that there is in the

[1] See ch. xxii.

[2] See Appendices A, D, E, and H.

[3] See *post*, ch. xxix.

oyal Library at Stockholm a Swedish drawing by F., entitled "The Washerwoman." A washerwoman her tub addresses Napoleon on the top of a mountain, ying to him in French, "Although I have scrubbed it th in the English and French way, I can't overcome ese cursed colours." Napoleon replies, "My good end, they are engrained in the wool." The washer-oman is certainly Louis XVIII., and the idea is assuredly eorge Cruikshank's.

[1] See Appendix A, 335, "Fast Colours."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE *ODIUM THEOLOGICUM* IN NAPOLEONIC CARICATURE BONAPARTE AS THE DRAGON, BEAST, AND FALSE PROPHET. PROPHETIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC PRINTS ISSUED IN ENGLAND BETWEEN 1798 AND 1815

"Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought low and fallen, but we are risen and stand upright."—PSALM xx. 7, 8.

Text of Sermon preached by Rev. Rowland Hill to the London Volunteers at the Surrey Chapel (1803).

"Come, thou Incarnate Word,
Gird on thy mighty sword,
Our pray'r attend;
Come and Thy people bless,
And give Thy word success,
Spirit of holiness
On us descend."

Version of National Anthem sung by the London Volunteers at the Surrey Chapel (1803).

THAT the *odium theologicum* should play an important part in the English scheme of satire against Napoleon is not surprising. It was no new thing to compare our national enemy to the Dragon, and identify him with the Beast of the Book of Revelation. Twelve years before Napoleon's birth,[1] T. Ewart, at the "Bee hive," near St. Martin's Lane in the Strand, published a curious print entitled "St. John's Vision Explain'd

[1] May 3, 1757. The Seven Years' War had just begun. Three days later Frederick the Great won the battle of Prague.

velation, chapter 13." A lion rampant in mid-air, skin sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis, hovers menacingly r a sea-girt rock on which Fame is endeavouring to se Britannia to a supreme effort. On spikes proding from the neck of the Beast are the decollated ds of Holland, Spain, the Pope, Hungary, Russia, l Poland. Below runs the legend: "Here is Wisdom; him that hath Understanding Count the Number of Beast, for it is the Number of a Man, and his Number ix Hundred three Score and Six."

L	V	D	V	I	C	V	S	
50	5	500	5	1	100	5	viz.	50
								5
								500
								5
								1
								100
								5
								666[1]

In an age of latitudinarianism such appeals as this e eminently calculated to convince the fervent dises of Wesley and Whitfield that the national enemy abhorred of God, and that consequently all efforts compass his discomfiture and destruction were not lawful, but praiseworthy.

It was the same thing half a century later, but on a

[1] Fantastic interpretations of the mystical number 666 to suit the political eological controversies of the hour date from the seventeenth century. ietro Bongo's *Numerorum Mysteria* (Bergomi, 1591) the rendering of er's name as Martin Lutera enables the author to identify him with the hrist to his entire satisfaction. Half a century later Francis Potter pubd at Oxford with a symbolical title his *Interpretation of the Number 666.* rding to Potter, whose book Pepys declares to be "mighty ingenious," nstitutions of the Romish Church are clearly indicated by the computation aborates.

very much more extensive scale, and with the essential difference that the " Beast " was no longer Louis the Well-beloved (whose remains had been scattered to the winds by the *sans culottes*), but Bonaparte. Between 1798 and 1815 there were few more popular stimulators of public opinion than these curious excitations to that intense hatred and detestation which spring only from a profound religious conviction. These prophetic leaflets and broadsides in which the caricaturist derived his inspiration from the Apocalypse found favour in the eyes of Hannah More, who saw in them a wholesome antidote to the pernicious teachings of Payne and Priestley ; they were industriously circulated by the pedlars of patriotic literature, and when printed on thin paper could be conveniently distributed by the Ackermann parachutes.

The religious feeling on the subject of the " Beast " Bonaparte, prevalent in England between 1797 and 1815, was far more intense than that entertained against Louis XV. between 1757 and 1762. The constant threat of invasion in which the First Consul and Emperor indulged came much nearer practical realisation than the menaces of the Bourbon sovereigns, whose descendants, then exiles in our midst, shared during many years our heartfelt desire for his defeat and discomfiture. Churchmen and Nonconformists were of one mind as to the absolute righteousness of our cause in 1803–4, and even the pacific Quakers were disposed, as far as Bonaparte was concerned, to waive their rooted objection to the settlement of international disputes by warfare. An illustrated broadside of 1809 (the year of Aspern, Essling, and Wagram, as well as of Talavera) may be taken as a fair example of this form of pictorial satire, but the writer strongly suspects

THE ASS'S KICK

French caricature in which the position of Napoleon at St. Helena is compared to that of St. John

hat the woodcut, in which the French Emperor is portrayed as receiving sentence to condign punishment on he Day of Judgment, may have done duty as far back s the days of Marlborough and the "Sun King."[1] The eading runs as follows :—

A Prophesy on the Downfall
of the French Army and the Last Year
OF BUONAPARTE'S REIGN
Peace restored to England—Trade to Flourish—
and the Labourer paid for his Hire

n this Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Nine

By the activity of the Military, and an Eminent Commander, who acts with great Prudence, who with the Voluntary [*sic*] *will face their Enemies in this year, with great Fury.*

howing from the Scripture that the End of the eign of that most cruel Tyrant Buonaparte is near at and ; when, it is hoped, the Sword will be returned to s Scabbard, and Peace restored to the surrounding ations.

The writer then proceeds to explain that without oubt "the Beast arising out of the Sea (Corsica) with even heads and ten horns, and upon his ten horns en crowns, is Buonaparte. This Beast was to have igned forty and two months as *Emperor of France.*" uonaparte has nearly reigned this exact number of onths. The Dragon (*i.e. the Devil*) gave him his power

[1] In *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 254, a similar ophetic broadside of 1803 is reproduced in which the destruction of onaparte is confidently predicted for 1811. The number 666 is arrived at the same computation which involves the substitution of "Napolean" for Napoleon." The woodcut is almost identical.

and great authority. . . . The Beast's number was 66
which exactly corresponds with the numerical calcul
tion of all the letters in Buonaparte's name, reckoni
the number affixed to each before the introduction
figures.

The Letters of his Christian Name.		The Letters of his Surname.	
N	40	B	2
A	1	V	110
P	60	O	50
O	50	N	40
L	20	A	1
E	5	P	60
A (*sic*)	1	A	1
N	40	R	80
		T	100
		E	5
			666

This is the identical number of THE BEAST, so
follows that the Spanish patriots are destined to put a
end to Bonaparte. The writer finds confirmation
his views in Daniel, chap. xi., Revelation, chaps. xii
and xvii., and Isaiah lxi. 1. The postscript mixes u
things spiritual with things temporal in an eminent
practical manner, although the language employed
woefully confused :—

"*February* 1, 1809.

"A letter from a tradesman to his friend in Londo
which actually expresses, that Flour is from 4d. to 6

[1] Amongst the Napoleonic caricature-pottery in the Brighton Muse
(see *post*, chap. xxx.) is a cream ware Staffordshire mug (No. 417), print
with a seven-headed beast rising from the sea; from one of them issues t
word "Blasphemy." Underneath "Buonaparte, The Monstrous Beast!
described in the Revelations, Chap. 13, Ver. 1 & 18."

per Stone, and ships is fiting out (*sic*) in many Ports of America with Flour and Corn, as the embargo is to be taken off in May, some ships are already landed in Liverpool. As the different nations are determined to have a free trade, and the manufacturing of every description will flourish in this year, but before this year is out we shall hear of Wars, and rumers (*sic*) of Wars. . . . God direct the affairs of his Majesty of Great Britain, prosper his most honourable privie Counsellors in all affairs of Government, and frustrate all his enemies by Sea and Land. Let the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland with the sacred ruler of them be ever happy, and let the Bolts of Heaven's Anger fall upon such People, who love not England's Peace and Interest. Amen." [1]

The quaint broadside of 1809 is by no means the first effort to direct the trend of public opinion by the aid of prophetic deduction. In August 1804, when the invasion crisis was at its most acute stage, Louis Mayer brought out two publications, entitled *The Prophetic Mirror*, and *The Emperor of the Gauls*, which enjoyed a large share of popularity. The title-page of the former sufficiently indicates its contents:—

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[1] In his Heroic Epistle, "Britannicus to Buonaparte" (1803), Mr. Henry Tresham writes—

> "Prophetic Brothers, wise trustee of thrones,
> The mystic monogram devoutly owns."

Richard Brothers (1751–1824) was a religious enthusiast, who gave himself out to be the revealed prince of the Hebrews and ruler of the world. Although for some years placed under restraint, he obtained a considerable following. Mr. Tresham discusses the mystical figure 666 at some length, as well as the true meaning to be deduced from the Greek derivation of the name Bona-parte. He refers his readers for further information to *The Theological Magazine*, December 1802 and April 1803.

The
PROPHETIC MIRROR
or a
HINT TO ENGLAND
containing
An Explanation of Prophecy
that relates to
THE FRENCH NATION
and the
THREATENED INVASION
proving
BONAPARTE
to be
The BEAST *that arose out of the Earth, with Two Horns like a Lamb, and spake as a Dragon, whose Number is*
666

By L. Mayer

With an Hieroglyphic for the year 1804.

The folding frontispiece in question may be fairly described as a satirical print. The author calls it "A Representation of the Present State of France." To the left is a pillared hall, on the walls hang pictures of the "Sacking of Rome," "Dissolution of the National Assembly," and a "View of Cairo." In it is seen the Evil One, busied with plans against England, Germany Turkey, and the East. On a scroll amongst the papers one reads: "Mem. The chance of the conquest o

England is worth the sacrifice of one-third of the people of France. Item. As Charlemaine (*sic*) not only conquered Italy, but the whole of Germany, and left the Imperial dignity hereditary in the Sovereigns of France, it is indispensably necessary to obtain possession of Germany, in order to support the dignity of the Gallic Empire." Bonaparte has just received a congratulatory address from an officer, who, looking towards the Devil, exclaims: "Patron of Liberty—Defender of our most holy Religion—free and happy People—ha! ha! ha! What may we expect? Has he not got them under excellent subjection!" From the right a friar and a sans-culotte are drawing towards Bonaparte a chariot-throne, on the cushions of which lies the imperial crown. Imps hover over the tricolour fixed to the front of the vehicle. Napoleon, addressing the bearers of the diadem, says: "This token of your gratitude, my dear subjects, will ever stimulate me to protect your liberties—to promote your happiness—and to preserve my empire from the ravages of war, tyranny, and oppression." The monk and his strange ally hold a scroll inscribed: "Most religious Sovereign—the benefactor of the Church—the patron of liberty—the scourge of tyrants, and the defender of our most holy religion, may you long fill the imperial chair, and diffuse over a free and happy people all the blessings of your auspicious government." For some years Mayer became the fountain-head of prophetic particulars, concerning the "ingress, progress, and regress" (*sic*) of the Gallic Empire,[1] but as Napoleon

[1] Amongst Mayer's other works of this character are:—
"Truth dispelling the Clouds of Error." "Peace with France, and Catholic Emancipation repugnant to the command of God." "Bonaparte Emperor of the French, with an Appeal to Reason on Prophecy."

had been elevated to the imperial dignity nearly three months before the publication of this plate it can scarcely be regarded as a forecast of what was to happen. Mr. Mayer, however, vouchsafes the following explanation of its meaning and indications : " The two Figures bringing the Imperial Crown to Bonaparte, represent in the Persons of a Sans-culotte and Friar, the bitter Enemies of Aristocracy, and the staunch Supporters of the late Monarchial (*sic*) Government, tackled to the National Machine, and reduced to the most abject State of Slavery, by the Influence of the Military, whose congratulatory Address Bonaparte has received at the Hand of an Officer, and is introducing him into his Secret Chamber to receive Instructions. The Demons hovering over the Imperial Crown denote Five Years of Destruction, during which Period Bonaparte will overrun and ravage the greater Part of the Continent of Europe, be the means of nearly depopulating Turkey, and finally be slain with the Sword, be cast out as an abominable Branch, and be left as Dung to rot on the Face of the Earth."

On July 22, 1808, Ackermann published another allegorical print, etched by Rowlandson from a design by G. Sauley of Farnham, and entitled " The Beast as described in the Revelations, chapter xiii., resembling Napolean (*sic*) Bonaparte." A Spanish patriot is depicted with a mitre on his head, " Catalonia " on his shield, " Madrid " on his breast, and " Spanish Patriotism " on his arm, in the act of attacking with a " True Spanish-Toledo " blade, a tiger with seven crowned heads, the first of which is that of Napoleon. On the body is

inscribed the number 666. With a blow he severs this head from its trunk, and in falling a number of crowns are caught by the female figure of Hope in her extended apron. The patriot exclaims: "True patriotism shall thus subdue the monstrous beast and quell the rage of war!" With his right foot, labelled "Cadiz," the patriot crushes a snake. In the background are a number of ships, with the name of Admiral Purvis above them. This probably refers to the blockade of French ships left at Cadiz by England, after the battle of Trafalgar.

Two months later (September 17, 1808) another caricature on similar lines, "Prophecy Explained, or the Slough of Disgrace and Ridicule," was issued by the same publisher. In this print are seen the Kings of Wurtemberg, Saxony, Holland, Bavaria, and Prussia ("the five that are fallen") crouching behind "King Nap," who holds his orb and sceptre in his hands, and is described by the caricaturist as "the one that is." King Joseph Bonaparte advances towards them from the Pyrenees. He is described as the one "that continued but a short space." The angel of Spanish Liberty is in the act of "seizing the Usurper's crown." Below the plate are the words: "And there are seven kings, five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come, and when he cometh he must continue but a short time." —Rev. xvii. 10.

The non-fulfilment of the greater part of his earlier forecasts rendered it necessary for Mr. L. Mayer to again pose as a prophet, and he next gave to the world a still more voluminous brochure, which he called :—

Death
of
BONAPARTE
and
Universal Peace
A new Explanation
of
NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S GREAT IMAGE
and
Daniel's Four Beasts
Rev: vi., viii., ix., xiii., and xvi.
A Chronological Table of the Sovereigns
included in the Number
666

In the second part of the "Death of Bonaparte" (1809) Mr. Mayer identifies Napoleon as the BEAST of the Apocalypse by another calculation which does not necessitate the misspelling of his name.

Sovereigns included in the Number of the Beast.

Roman Emperors	77
Popes	186
Kings of France	40
Kings of Spain	78
Kings of Portugal	26
Emperors of Germany	57
Kings of Bohemia	31
Kings of Hungary	34
Kings of Poland	35
Kings of Naples and Sicily	30
Kings of Sardinia	36
Bonaparte	1
Total	666

He uses nevertheless as a frontispiece[1] a satirical plate of 1804, in which John Bull is portrayed "sitting under his favourite oak, supported by Commerce and Industry, reaping the Fruits of his Labours, and protected by the power of God, whilst France is enslaved under their Tree of Liberty, which is falling to the ground—the Honour and Independence of Nations are broken and trampled under foot, and all the Horrors of War are extending their Ravages with unremitting fury. BONAPARTE is depicted as the Dragon, the Beast, and the false Prophet, Rev. xvi. 13; xiii. 11, and following verses; xix. 20, and also as Gog, Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix. His brutal and ferocious Dispositions are represented by the Body and Feet of a Tiger; his inordinate Desires, by the Chest, Wings, and Claws of a Dragon, holding out Death and Slavery; his Head with two Horns symbolises his civil and ecclesiastical Authority; and is intended to point out that though a Dragon and a Tiger have been the most dreadful and destructive of all real and imaginary creatures, yet even their horrid natures are surpassed by the sanguinary and rapacious Dispositions of that implacable Tyrant. The THREE LIONS represent the united Naval, Military, and Volunteer Power of England, Scotland, and Ireland, watching the Monster's Movements and springing forth eager to meet him."

Before the end came, a French prophet had also entered the field. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is an anonymous print entitled the "Vision of St. John," in which the Apostle is seen sleeping, his finger

[1] This plate is reproduced in *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. ii. p. 252.

indicating an open book. On the right is a winged lion, on the left an eagle at rest. The Book is lettered: Apocalypse xiii. 18.—"Here is wisdom. Let him that hath intelligence count the numbers which form the name of the Beast. It is a number which denotes a man, and that number is 666." Then follows the necessary calculation, but based on a totally different arrangement of letters.

L	e		E	m	p	e	r	e	u	r		N	a	p	o	l	é	o	n	Total
20	5		5	30	60	5	80	5	110	80		40	1	60	50	20	5	50	40	666

The following key is supplied :—

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	20	30	40	50

p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z
60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150

It is probable that comparatively few of the readers of Mayer's *Death of Bonaparte* realised the obvious lack of agreement between the plate and the text, or the difference between the English and French interpretations. With the prophets, as with the ordinary caricaturists, anything was good enough to stimulate public opinion against the "Corsican Ogre"; and when the evil days arrived, Mr. Mayer declared that his forecast had been fulfilled to the letter, and that beyond the possibility of a doubt the exile of Elba and St. Helena was the BEAST, whose number was 666. It mattered not a jot that his downfall had come some years later than was originally predicted. Possibly these prophetic prints disposed a good many simple-minded folk to undergo any amount of increased taxation uncomplainingly, when they

reflected that their money would help to bring about the ruin of one accursed alike by God and man, and predestined to ignominious failure on the authority of both the Old Testament and the New. Less than thirty years later another Napoleon arose on the political horizon, and the wiseacres of the Victorian era proved him to be the Beast of Prophecy, quite as conclusively as Mr. Mayer and his associates had endeavoured to do at the commencement of the nineteenth century in the case of his uncle.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ENGLISH HERALDIC CARICATURES OF NAPOLEON (1804–1815)

"La satire est comme une prairie
Qui n'est belle sinon qu'en sa bizarrerie
Et comme un pot-pourri des frères mendiants,
Elle forme son goût de cent ingrédients."
MATHURIN RÉGNIER.

ONE of the earliest examples of the application of heraldry to pictorial satire is Hogarth's design for the shield of the "Company of Undertakers," a quaint combination of cane-heads and heads of quacks "on a chief nebulæ ermine." Some thirty years later an anonymous caricaturist was responsible for "The Coalition Arms of 1784," with Fox and Lord North as supporters, a Janus head of both united by a scroll bearing the word "Faction" as a crest, and the motto "Neck or Nothing." In the "first quarter" of the shield we have "the standard with the thirteen stripes of the American States," with "Edmund St. Omer (Burke) like a skilful dentist drawing the teeth of the Lion." The point of the shield and Fox's foot both rest on the neck of the prostrate King of England. In September 1792 appeared the "Democratic Arms, or Emblems of Gallic Liberty," with the devices "Live Free or Die," and "Lying is a virtue of Patriots." The following explanation accompanies the plate :—

Crest. A Devil trampling on a Priest holding the head of an Aristocrat on a Pike.

Supporters.—Dexter-side. A Jacobine (*sic*) holding the Sceptre and the Ensignia of an Executioner, and trampling the Crown under Foot.

Sinister-side. A man in the working dress of the People of Paris (or a Sans-culotte) with a pike and an instrument with which they sever People's Heads from their bodies as they walk along the Streets—the Rope signifies he deserves to be hanged, or give him rope enough and he will hang himself; the Cap of Liberty on his head being too large blinds him to do mischief—his foot trampling on the mangled head of an aristocrat.

1st Quarter. A Lamp and Rope descriptive of their hanging People to a Lanterne.

2nd Quarter. Pikes (with which such common People are armed as cannot afford Guns) and a Dagger such as (the Dames de la Halle or) Fishwomen are armed with.

3rd Quarter. A Cuttlar (*sic*) to Hack off Heads.

4th Quarter. The Ensignia of an Executioner, Shield in the Centre, Cap of Liberty with a Dagger thrust through, signifying that Liberty is wounded by the Horrid Massacres that have lately happened at Paris.

On September 6, 1803, J. Hatchard, of 190 Piccadilly, published a very elaborate heraldic caricature against the French Consulate and Bonaparte which, for some unaccountable reason, is not alluded to by Mr. Wright, and does not figure in the collections of Gillray reproductions. The whole design has a background of festooned drapery, on which appear two long lists of Revolutionary statesmen, beginning with Bonaparte and Robespierre. The crest is a wild boar and the central shield is flanked by groups of drooping lilies. The supporters consist of a monkey holding the banner of Atheism seated on the

works of "Rosseau (*sic*), Voltaire, and Tom Payne," and a Tiger rampant supporting the banner of desolation. On the shield is a blood-stained guillotine, with the sun in his glory behind it. On a garter are the words: "The Sun of the French Constitution." Dependent from the garter is a medallion showing a well-executed numismatic profile of Bonaparte lettered, "And God made Buonaparte and rested from his labours, *vide* French Bishops' Address to the First Consul, 1803." Below is a cartouche inscribed :—

"Gallic Fraternity
Spain Inchained
Holland Plunder'd
Switzerland Ruin'd
Italy Destroy'd
France in Slavery."

A scroll, stretched over a heap of decollated and bleeding heads, bears the words: "Death is an eternal sleep." The drapery in the background is drawn aside to show the grated window of the cell of Toussaint l'Ouverture and the fetters with which he had been laden. Many of the names of the French leaders are hopelessly distorted. One of them figures as "Jambon St. André."

On the occasion of Napoleon's coronation the temptation to utilise the same ideas as an engine of personal attack was irresistible. In the most remarkable of the caricatures published in ridicule of the ceremony at Notre Dame, Talleyrand is made to figure as a herald, wearing a grotesque tabard, and carrying a banner on which is set forth the descent of the new Emperor from "Byon Butcher" and a number of other undesirable

Heraldic caricature by C. Ansell, December 20, 1804

people. This caricature, which was one of Gillray's masterpieces, was published on January 1, 1805.[1]

Ten days previously (December 20, 1804), S. W. Fores had produced a caricature by Ansell, entitled "The Corsican Usurper's New Imperial Arms," which is the second of the heraldic satires on Napoleon. In this the crest consists of two profile heads of the Emperor, looking right and left, and joined by a label inscribed "Janus." Springing from them is a hideous Devil's face surmounted by a mitre (Talleyrand ?). The point of the shield, which is divided into eight sections, rests on the prostrate body of the Pope. The supporters consist of figures of Caligula and Nero. In the right hand of the one is a picture of lions devouring a Christian martyr in the arena ; in that of the other, a decollated head. The eight sections of the shield are occupied by vignette views of the death of the Duke d'Enghien, the massacre of Jaffa, the opium scene at Acre, the Pope doing homage to Bonaparte, Toussaint l'Ouverture in his cell, and executions by means of a plank on board a French vessel. On the two remaining "quarters" five skulls are depicted on a black ground. No attempt whatever is made at heraldic drawing.

On March 10, 1807, Rudolph Ackermann published "a characteristic design for the Arms of Buonaparte, Designed, Drawn and Invented by E. F. Stratton Reader." This plate was engraved by G. Alexander. In this case the crest is of a far more complicated character. Two hands emerging from clouds appear

[1] The coronation of Napoleon took place on Dec. 2, 1805, but Gillray gives the erroneous date of November 19. Mr. Wright, in his *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray* (1851), only devotes fifteen lines to this interesting plate.

to be endeavouring to grasp the globe, from which spring a broken "Tree of Liberty" (lettered Tyranny), and the banners of Rapacity and Hypocrisy. Above the British Isle is the crown of England in all the glory of meridian splendour. The principal motto is the text "The Wages of Sin is Death," but above the supporters—Death on the left and the Devil on the right—are the devices *Manus hac inimica tyrannis* and *Sub hoc signo vinces*, displayed on scrolls. Death, with an hour-glass in one hand and a scythe in the other, wears an imperial crown; on a prong of the Devil's trident is the word "Ambition." Five out of the six quarters are devoted to vignette pictures of the humiliation of the Pope, the death of the Duke d'Enghien, the alleged poisoning of the sick at Acre, the profession of the tenets of Mahomedanism by Bonaparte at Cairo, and the supposed murder of Pichegru or Wright. In the remaining quarter (with some faint attempt at heraldic display) are portrayed a tiger, a crocodile, and a black hand and heart, with a mushroom on a dunghill in a central shield.[1]

In 1808 and 1814 two far more elaborate versions of "Napoleon's Arms" appeared, both of which are printed in colours. The first was published by J. B. G. Vogel, of 15 Poland Street. The motto now adopted is the 15th verse of the 28th chapter of Proverbs: "As a roaring lion, and a ranging bear; so is a wicked ruler over the poor people." The accompanying text speaks for itself:—

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[1] See Appendix A, 329 and 330. The name of Vogel as publisher appears on the British Museum copy of 329.

Explanations of the Arms and Supporters of Napoleon BONAPARTE, *the self-created Emperor, alias the Corsican and now the* CURSE OF EUROPE.

The crest represents the world, which, England and Sweden excepted, is set on fire everywhere by the incendiary Corsican; his bloody actions and designs are expressed by the bloody hand and dagger reaching towards Spain. Tyranny, Hypocrisy, Barbarity, and Villany are his standards, which are distinguishable through the smoke and fire and have nearly enveloped the whole globe.

His supporters are the "French Devil" and the "Corsican Devil."

The French Devil

Or *le diable boiteux,* formerly a nobleman and a priest; anybody may easily guess that he and Talleyrand are one and the same creature;[1] by the hour-glass he indicates, however, that time is running away and that Boney's downfall is fast approaching. The Gallic cock, destroying religion (pecking at a prostrate crucifix), is his emblem.

The Corsican Devil

Who, being intoxicated with unbounded ambition, wears an iron crown, ornamented with thorns; he cuts down the Cap of Liberty, because tyranny is his idol. The serpent and the hyena are the very proper emblems of his infamous character and conduct. From the mouth of his animals comes a number of coloured ribands lettered "Holy Father," "Germany," "Russia," "Prussian Politics," and "Swiss Demands."

[1] The deformed foot of the great diplomatist, cruelly exaggerated, formed part of the stock-in-trade of every anti-Napoleonic caricaturist from 1803 to 1813. It is conspicuous in Gillray's "Grand Coronation."

Description of the Arms divided into Eight Quarters

I

The mushroom on a dunghill denotes his descent, or origin of family. The crocodile expresses his treacherous transactions in Europe, and his cowardly desertion from his army. The bloody Hand, the Guillotines, and the black Heart can only belong to such a monster.

II

Represents the shooting of 800 defenceless Turkish prisoners, near the town of Jaffa, ordered very coolly by the monster.

III

Shows the poisoning of his own sick soldiers in the hospital at Jaffa, by his express orders.

IV

Exhibits a scene never known before in the civilised world: the foul murder (for it cannot be called anything else, although Boney excuses it by his mock court-martial) of the Duke d'Enghien.

V

Here the monster compels the Pope to come to Paris, and to assist at a blasphemous Coronation, where Boney stands upon no ceremony with the Holy Father. Boney puts on the iron crown himself with one hand, whilst the other is employed in robbing the Catholic Church of its head.

VI

Exhibits another shocking scene: the truly English patriot, Captain Wright, is put to death by a slow and refined torture, because he will not be a traitor to his King and Country.

VII

Here we behold the Massacre of the defenceless citizens of Madrid on the 2nd May 1808.

VIII

Represents the imprisonment of King Ferdinand VII., because he will not renounce the crown of Spain or marry Boney's niece.

This caricature in all probability appeared towards the end of 1808. This print doubtless suggested to George Cruikshank another version of the same theme, entitled "Rise and Progress of Buonaparte," published by G. Smeaton early in 1819 as a companion plate to the broadside named "Memoirs of Buonaparte," embellished with the German corpse-head.[1] Almost simultaneously a second version of the anonymous Vogel plate made its appearance. Talleyrand had, by this time, repaid with interest all the slights and insults he had suffered at the hands of his old master. The wily diplomatist was now the trusted friend of the Bourbons, and it was expedient the English caricaturist should forget the misdoings of the *diable boiteux*, and the unsightliness of his club foot. The popularity of the 1808 edition of the "Arms of Bonaparte" amply justified a re-issue in the hour of success, but the changed sittuation necessitated some radical alteration of the plate. The figure of the same statesman vanished, and in its place was substituted a hideous skeleton, the bones of the left hand partially concealing the head of the crocodile. "The Corsican Devil" was now labelled Satan *tout court*, while from the mouth of the attendant animal (by courtesy called an

[1] See Appendix A, 763.

hyena), hung the names of Cambacérès, Davoust, Augereau, Sebastiani, Vandamme, and Savary, whose present political attitude was apparently unknown to the artist. The following changes were made in the text :—

Explanation of the Arms of

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

The Tyrant of France, who created himself Emperor of the French, 18th May 1803,[1] was dethroned by the French Senate, 2nd April 1814, compelled to abdicate for himself and his Family, 6th April, and his life spared on condition of his being transported for the remainder of his days to the Island of Elba ; whither he was sent under escort on the 20th April 1814.

The supporters are

DEATH

Holding an Hour Glass, to indicate the little time he will have to repent of his sins. The Gallic Cock, vainly picking the Crucifix, is symbolic of the Corsican's impiety

SATAN

Wearing an Iron Crown, ornamented with Thorns, cutting down the Cap of Liberty, and accompanied by the Serpent and Hyena, the attributes of the Corsican Emperor's wily and sanguinary reign.

One misses in these compositions the amusing parodying of heraldic language which lends so much piquancy to more recent examples of armorial cari

[1] An obvious error. It should be 1804.

cature.[1] It must be confessed, however, that the drawing of the satirical shields which served to stimulate public opinion against Napoleon a century ago, were not altogether unworthy of the genius of the artists who devised and elaborated them.

[1] *A Book of Arms.* Drawn and written by E. T. Reed. London. Bradbury, Agnew & Co.

CHAPTER XXIX

A COSMOPOLITAN CARICATURE—"THE TRIUMPH OF TH YEAR 1813," BY J. M. VOLTZ. A GERMAN CARICATUR OF JANUARY 1814, REPRODUCED AND ADAPTED I SEVEN COUNTRIES

"NAPOLEON.

O cursed hour,
Why am I stung by spectral questionings?
Did not my clouded soul incline to match
Those of the corpses yonder, thou should'st rue
Thy saying, Fiend, whoever thou may'st be!
. . . . . .
If but a Kremlin cannon shot had met me,
My greatness would have stood; I should have scored
A vast repute, scarce paralleled in time.
As it did not, the fates had served me best
If in the thick and thunder of to-day,
Like Nelson, Harold, Hector, Cyrus, Saul,
I had been shifted from this jail of flesh,
To wander as a greatened ghost elsewhere."

THOMAS HARDY—*Meditations after Waterlo*
The Dynasts, Pt. III., scene ix., p. 344.

AT 3 P.M. on Monday, October 27, 1806, Napo leon entered Berlin in triumph. During th four weeks he remained in the Prussia capital reviews were of daily occurrenc During one of these numerous military parades a sketc of the victorious Emperor was made by a Hanoveria artist named Heinrich Anton Dähling,[1] which was aqu

[1] H. A. Dähling was born at Hanover, January 19, 1773, and died Potsdam, Sept. 10, 1850. He entered the Berlin Academy in 1793, and 1802 visited Paris, Amsterdam, and other places. He resided for a time

ıted in sepia by F. Arnold and published. Napoleon depicted in profile to the left, with his arms folded. e is wearing a small hat, dark coat, white breeches, p-boots, spurs, sword, epaulettes, and the star, cross, d ribbon of the Legion of Honour. The background nsists of trees and shrubs.[1] The print soon became pular. The head and shoulders only were engraved d printed in colours by Lehmann "logé Probst sse No. 14, à Berlin," and somewhat smaller heads er the same original were produced by Walls, Löman, d others. That of Löman is lettered: "Napoléon emier, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie." The full-ıgth print on a smaller scale and coloured, with the ce stippled, was published in London, April 10, 1809, R. Lambe, 39 Fleet Street. It is lettered: "Napoleon ken on the Parade. Engraved by B. Lane from a sign taken at Berlin." The profile head engraved by hmann is now reproduced, for eight years later (January 14) Dähling's familiar "profile to the left" was destined become the model of J. M. Voltz's "corpse-head," e most widely known of all the caricatures directed ainst Napoleon. It also exercised a perceptible influ-ce on the productions of Esser and other Dutch cari-

sden. His best known works are the "Meeting of the Czar Alexander ı the King and Queen of Prussia," and a "Descent from the Cross" in Military Church at Potsdam. In 1814 he became a teacher in the Berlin demy. He also achieved considerable success as a painter of miniatures other portraits. (See Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-lexicon*, vol. iii., nich, 1836, pp. 240–242; and Müller-Singer, *Allg. Künstler-lexicon*, 3rd ion, vol. i. p. 308.)

[1] The size of the plate-mark is 16⅛ inches by 12. During Napoleon's exile St. Helena, the Dähling-Arnold aquatint was reproduced as a lithograph, ı no other alteration than a change of background. This adaptation was lished by Pietro del Vecchio of Leipsic, and is lettered as drawn by Hofbauer, and lithographed by A. Kneisel.

caturists in 1814 and 1815.[1] Voltz's effort may be garded as the artistic first-fruits of the crushing defea Napoleon at Leipzic on October 19, 1813. Up to that t the Berlin patriots had been compelled from pruden motives to import their stock of satirical prints f London, but it was now the turn of Germany to pay debt she owed to Gillray, Rowlandson, and Cruiksha It was not, however, till long years after that the aut ship of the grim and gruesome print entitled "True Pict of the Conqueror. Triumph of the Year 1813. To Germans for the New Year," was acknowledged. In spring of 1814 it was freely reproduced in England well as in Russia, Italy, Holland, Spain—and even Paris. Voltz's "New Year's Gift" to his compatr was not only calculated to assist the serious efforts men like Fichte and Von Ense, but to stimulate general uprising of the European nations against Tyrant.

At first sight this caricature face might be mista for the familiar and once popular original, but on cl examination the full force of the cruel satire conve by its elaborate details is plainly discernible. In o to obviate any possibility of mistake the following planation is printed below the German "corpse-hea which became the prototype of all the rest :—

The Hat is the Prussian Eagle which has seized great man in its claws and will not let go.

The Face represents a few of the bodies of the 100 men which his lust for glory sacrificed.

The Collar is the great stream of blood so long poured for his ambition.

[1] See *ante*, ch. xxv.

G. M. Voltz's famous German caricature, "Triumph of the year 1813—to the Germans for the New Year."

The Coat is a portion of the map of the dissolved nfederation of the Rhine. At all the places indicated lost a battle. The red line is no longer necessary by y of explanation.

The Spider of the Legion of Honour is a spider's web ose threads embraced the whole Rhenish Confedera- n, but in the epaulet is the Mighty Hand of God etched out to tear asunder the web wherein Germany s ensnared and destroy the insect which held the sition which ought to have been occupied by the art.

In December 1813 an Italian version of the "Hiero- yphic Head" was published in Berlin,[1] with some ght variation in the explanatory text, of which the llowing is a translation :—

True Portrait of the Conqueror

The hat represents the eagle of *Russia*, which has zed on that powerful person and will not relax its ld. The face is made up of a few out of the many rpses he has sacrificed to his ambition. The collar is e torrent of blood vainly shed for his glorification. The at is formed out of a portion of the map of the now- ssolved Confederation of the Rhine. The names on it dicate the places where he lost battles. The Grand rdon of the Legion of Honour is a spider's web, the reads of which extend over the whole of the above- entioned Confederation. On the shoulder, in the shape an epaulet, is the great hand of God which tears off at web and destroys the spider which fills the place here the heart should be.

[1] According to Signor Bertarelli there were five Italian versions of the Hieroglyphic," or "Corpse Head." See Appendix F, 59 to 63.

("Triumph of the Year 1813." To the Germ people for the New Year. Printed in Berlin, Decemb 1813.)

Rudolph Ackermann was in Germany about this tim and doubtless realised the value of a caricature whi was selling in Berlin as fast as impressions could printed off. He lost no time in reproducing it on a mu larger scale, as the heading of a broadside. In the versi published at 101 Strand there is a red ribbon on t breast lettered "Ehrefort,"[2] and on the wrist of the ha the motto of the Garter, "Honi soit," and the initial (Prince Regent). On four out of the five fingers of t hand, as well as on the thumb, are rings inscribed A., P., and S., doubtless signifying Austria, Russia, Pruss and Sweden. The outline of the back is denoted by t Vistula (the name hopelessly misspelled); that of t chest by the Rhine. Over the green coat studded w the names of nine Napoleonic defeats, the Oder, t Elbe, and the Weser flow into the blood-red strea (forming the collar) from which the Rhine emerg Ackermann was evidently not disposed to ignore t part his adopted country had played in the formati of the Third Coalition. Below the head is the follow text :—

NAPOLEON

The First and Last, by the Wrath of Heaven, Empe of the Jacobins, Protector of the Confederation of Rogu Mediator of the Hellish League, Grand Cross of the Leg

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. ch. iii. p. 62.

[2] A pun on the name of the town. Ehre signifies "honour," fort "away."

Napoleon, the Corsican Phœnix

THE Hat of Napoleon represents the Gallic Cock, his wings expande

Curious English adaptation of the German corpse-head of Napoleon, published by Fairburn, May, 1815

Triumph des Jahres 1813.
Den Deutschen Zum Neuenjar 1814.

Swedish variation of Voltz's "Triumph of the Year 1813."

of Horror, Commander-in-Chief of the Legions of Skeletons left at Moscow, Smolensk, Leipzig, &c. Head Runner of Runaways, Mock High-Priest of the Sanhedrim, Mock Prophet of Mussulmen, Mock Pillar of the Christian Faith, Inventor of the Syrian Method of disposing of his own Sick by sleeping Draughts, or of captured Enemies by the Bayonet; First Grave-Digger for Burying alive; Chief Gaoler of the Holy Father and of the King of Spain, Destroyer of Crowns, and Manufacturer of Counts, Dukes, Princes, and Kings; Chief Douanier of the Continental System, Head Butcher of the Parisian and Toulanese Massacres; Murderer of Hoffer, Palm, Wright, nay, of his own Prince the noble and virtuous Duke of Enghien, and of a thousand others; Kidnapper of Ambassadors, High-Admiral of the Invasion Praams, Cup-Bearer of the Jaffa Poison; Arch-Chancellor of Waste-Paper Treaties, Arch-Treasurer of the Plunder of the World; the Sanguinary Coxcomb, and Incendiary . . to

MAKE PEACE WITH!!!

This Hieroglyphic Portrait of the DESTROYER is faithfully copied from a German Print, with a Parody of his assumed Titles. The *Hat* of the Destroyer represents a discomfited *French* eagle,[1] maimed and crouching, after his conflict with the Eagles of the North. His *Visage* is composed of the Carcases of the Victims of his Folly and Ambition, who perished on the Plains of Russia and Saxony. His Throat is encircled with the *Red Sea*, in allusion to his drowned Hosts. His Epaulette is a *Hand*, leading the Rhenish Confederation, under the flimsy Symbol of a *Cobweb*. The Spider is an Emblem of the Vigilance of the Allies, who have inflicted on that Hand a deadly Sting![2]

[1] A variation of the interpretation in the German and Italian originals.

[2] These explanations are far less clear than those in the original.

A smaller profile head, but precisely similar in every detail, served for the heading of a broadside, entitled "Memoirs of Buonaparte, His Imperial Family, Great Officers of State, and Great Military Officers," several editions of which were issued by G. Smeaton of 17 St Martin's Lane, in the early months of 1814. It is needless to add that the various biographies contained in it were a tissue of atrocious libels. That of Napoleon himself may be taken as a fair sample of the rest :—

"NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, *Emperor of France*, second son of Carlo Buonaparte, greffier or town-clerk of Ajaccio in Corsica : (his real father supposed to be Count Marbœuf, Governor of Corsica). The greatest vagabond and the worst public or private character, in ancient or modern history. According to General Dupont's statements, he commenced his career of murder at the age of sixteen, by poisoning a young woman, at Brienne who was with child by him."

The "Correct Explanation of the Hieroglyphic Portrait" contains several further variations. It is as follows :—

"The French Eagle, crouching, forms his *hat ;* the *red collar* represents the River Rhine, and the *black border* above it, the Rhenish Confederacy ; the *letters on the fingers* are the initials of Austria, Russia, Sweden and Prussia, and the *Cuff* of the *Sleeve* is emblematic of Great Britain, by whose influence and power the Allies are bound together ; the letter R signifying Regent. The *visage* is formed of the carcases of the unhappy victims to his cruel ambition ; the *spider* is symbolic of the rancor and venom of Buonaparte's heart ; and the

web illustrative of the flimsy tenure by which he holds his present kingdom."

Copied from the Original Berlin Print, of which there were sold in that Capital 20,000 *Copies in One Week.*

On February 14, 1814, Mr. Edward Orme of Bond Street produced a version of the "Hieroglyphic Head," specially adapted to English ideas, which he entitled "Napoleon Bonaparte as overcome by Marquis Wellesley and the Allies, 1814." In this plate Portugal does duty as a waistcoat, while the names of Leipzic, Lutzen, Katzbach, and Denewitz on the coat are replaced by those of Vittoria, Saragossa, Madrid, and St. Sebastian. The red collar is lettered "France." The description differs very materially from that on the Berlin parent plate. We are now told that "the Hat is composed of a Vanquished Eagle taken at the Battle of Vittoria; the face, of Prisoners living and slain; the collar, of the part of France adjoining Spain; the coat, of Spain and Portugal; the epaulette, of Napoleon's own blood-stained hand, while the Star is a cobweb emblematic of the flimsy tenure of his reign."

Napoleon's brief but brilliant struggle on French soil was soon over, and in the early summer of 1814 we have another English version of the Hieroglyphic Head by J. Kay, in which the fallen Emperor is described as the "Governor of the Island of Elba." The original idea of the Saxon battle-fields is once more reverted to, but the description is a compound of two of those already given. According to Kay, "The French eagle crouching forms the *chapeau militaire*. The Red Sea represents his

throat, illustrative of his drowning armies (*sic*). The *visage* is formed of the carcases of the unhappy victims to his cruel ambition. The *hand* is judiciously placed as the epaulet drawing the Rhenish Confederacy under the flimsy symbol of the cobweb. The *spider* is a symbolical emblem of the vigilance of the allies."

Of the two French versions of the plate, one was certainly published in Berlin, possibly for exportation. The head itself is practically identical with the Italian variety already described. The text, however, is widely different. The face is said to be composed "of the corpses of those who died on account of his ambition, while he is crushed by the eagle of the Allies. A map indicates the names of the battles he lost during his last campaign,[1] as well as the rivers he crossed, and which fall into his collar-stream of blood. The hand of Justice crushes the thread of his grandeur, the flimsy nature of which is indicated by the spider's web and the word *Ehrfurt* on the ribbon of his Order (of the Legion), which denotes that he has lost all honour."

The second French version probably appeared a little later. It bears a strong resemblance to the former one, but the corpses of the face are less strongly defined, and the "All-seeing Eye" appears on the cuff of the extended hand forming the epaulet. Below the print are the words, "We . . *fecit,*" and a six-pointed star surmounted by an owl. This seemingly gives a new name to the caricature, for the explanatory text is entitled "The Screech Owl." It rivals in severity that for which Ackermann was responsible. According to "We . . ." the "Hat is formed of an eagle, the claws

[1] This print was possibly issued late in 1813.

NAPOLEON

en el año 1814.

Napoleon primero y ultimo por la [illegible] representa a la faz del mundo en esta caricatura en el estado á que su ambicion le ha conducido. Su rostro esta formado con los cadaveres de los soldados franceses que ha sacrificado en sus sangrientas batallas. El sombrero es el aguila del imperio francés, y el ojo de ella es la vacuela tricolor. El cuello encarnado de su uniforme representa el mar Rojo, donde se ahogaron tantos franceses en las campañas de Egipto. La charretera esta hecha de una mano, aludiendo a los aliados, a saber: Inglaterra, Rusia, Austria, Prusia, Suecia y España que deshacen la confederacion del Rhin representada por una debil tela de araña. La gran Legion de honor esta indicada con una araña, simbolo de la vigilancia de los aliados que ha logrado hacerle una picadura mortal. El vestido verde cuyos pliegues denotan los rios del Norte manifiestan los campos en que sus exercitos han sido batidos desde el Vistula al Rhin.

Esta caricatura publicada en Rusia, Alemania é Inglaterra, tiene ademas del singular merito de su composicion, el de estar executada sobre el retrato mas parecido que se conoce de Napoleon.

Spanish variation of Voltz's "Triumph of the Year 1813"

of which, emblematical of its ferocity, are fixed in the corpses of the human race it has resolved to destroy. They are the laurels encircling the head of the monstrous tyrant, whose talents are entirely devoted to murder and destruction. His features are made up of a group of some of the millions of victims which were sacrificed to his insatiable ambition. The colour of his collar symbolises a stream of blood, fed during long years by the butcheries on which he delighted to feast his cruel gaze, while walking over the battle-fields. The coat is a map showing the dissolution of the Confederacy of the Rhine, while the names one reads upon it indicate the disasters which have overtaken his arms. It should be noted that the word Ehr-fort on the red ribbon signifies 'Lost Honour.' The grand Order of the Legion of Honour is represented by a spider's web, the threads of which embrace the whole Rhenish Confederacy. In the epaulet must be recognised the hand of the Almighty, which tears (in pieces) this tangle of tyranny and destroys the venomous insect which fills the place which should be occupied by the heart."

The well-executed Spanish version of this cosmopolitan caricature is entitled "Napoleon in the Year 1814." It gives special prominence to the spider, which is depicted on a much larger scale than in the others. According to the imprint, it was obtainable at the Gila Library, Calle de Carretas, Madrid, and in that of Queros opposite Los Gremios. As in Ackermann's English version, the outline of the back and the chest are formed of the rivers Vistula and Rhine respectively, while the Oder, Elbe, and the Weser flow into the crimson stream of blood which does duty as a coat-collar. There

are no names on the coat, either of Saxon or Spanish battle-fields, but on the thumb and fingers of the epaulet-hand are the initials A, R, P, S, and E—Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain (Espana). Around the wrist is the one word *Inglaterra*, which testifies to Spanish gratitude for the enormous sacrifices made by this country to free her from Napoleon's sway. The following is a translation of the Spanish explanatory text : " Napoleon, the first and the last by the judgment of God, shows himself to the world in this cartoon in the condition to which his ambition has brought him. His face is formed out of the corpses of the French soldiers whose lives he has sacrificed in his bloody battles. His hat consists of the Eagle of the French Empire, of which the eye symbolises the French tricolour cockade. The red collar of his uniform represents the Red Sea, in the waters of whch so many French soldiers were engulfed during his campaign in Egypt. The epaulet is formed of a single hand, alluding to the Allies, viz. England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain, who destroyed the Confederation of the Rhine represented by the feeble thread of a spider. The Grand Legion of Honour is portrayed by a spider, the emblem of the vigilance of the Allies, who have combined to inflict on him (Napoleon) a mortal puncture. The green coat, the folds of which denote the rivers of the North, sets forth the scenes of those engagements in which he has been beaten from the Vistula to the Rhine. This caricature, published in Germany, Russia, and England, is prized for the exceptional merit of its composition, and for the reason that it is executed in accordance with the most accurate known portrait of Napoleon."

There is a Portuguese version of the "Hieroglyphic Head" on the same scale as the Spanish one, but its execution is very inferior. In this a sword lettered "Franha" pierces the heart below the spider's web. The text appended to the Spanish caricature shows that it was also published in Russia.

Several versions of the "Triumph of the Year 1813" were published in Holland, and are enumerated by Mr. Van Rijn in the "Atlas Van Stolk." The example in possession of the writer is almost an exact reproduction of the German original, but the names of the Allies on the hand pressing the shoulder are printed at length instead of being denoted merely by initials. The writer has also discovered two broadsides in which the print is described in doggerel verse. This leads to the supposition that German caricatures may have been first put in circulation with these broadsides as interpreters of their meaning.[1] The text of the Dutch leaflets are as follows :

REAL IMAGE OF THE CONQUEROR

The Dutch version, with eighteen lines of verse :—

The Prussian Eagle is the Hat who, clinging to it,
Does not release its grasp of the head which it destines to fall.
The Corpses which are a proof of his ambition,
Victimised by hundreds of thousands, are the features
Of the face. The Collar represents the stream of blood
With which the monster fed itself generously.
The Coat, a map, is marked at each place
With the loss of battles his pride never bargained for.
The dissolved Rhine Confederation threw over the reign of terror.
Even without the name of Ehrfurt, one can declare the Red Ribbon,
The brilliant badge of the Legion of Honour, nothing more than
A cobweb, the thread of which can easily be broken,

[1] See ch. xxv., and Appendix H.

Covers in a ridiculous manner the whole Rhenish alliance.
In the Epaulette is discovered the hand of the Almighty,
Tearing up the web which enslaved Germany,
Where He kills the spider, whose poisonous power
Spread over the world, taunts God no longer.
The Spider occupies the place of the absent heart.

THE PECULAR IMAGE OF THE DESPOT

(Sold by E. Maaskamp, 1 Dam en Kalverstraat.)

You shiveringly regard the horrible image of the Despot,
See how the pains of hell are showing in his features.
The repulsive face makes clear to you his thirst of blood
By the terrible combination of heaped-up corpses.
The lust of murder, fed wildly by countless victims,
Has now fixed the sign of death in the eye of the executioner.
The blood, shed with delight by his cruel hand
In huge drops, flowing together in rivulets,
Encircles here, as if the earth's tyrant were swimming in it,
His neck like a collar and reaches to his chin.
The Rhenish Confederation, once the source of his power,
Is visible in the garment which we see him covered with.
It bears the marks of his shame, and tells name by name
His defeats and his ineffaceable guilt.
The fierce head to which the Eagle of the North clings
Feels the horrible penalty of cruel murders.
The blood-red ribbon, on which the name of Ehrfurt[1] is written,
Repays his miserable ambition with shame and taunts.
The spider's web woven star-like on his breast
Symbolises the worthlessness of his ambitious endeavours :
While the Almighty, whose hand presses on his shoulder,
Tears up the state dress of despotism, as the rays of
The all-seeing eye watches over the Powers which like fingers
Are invading the gruesome web to destroy it.
These Powers are Great Britain, Prussia, Austria,
And Sweden, to whose sword the Eternal One has granted
Victory in proof of his justice,
To cause the whole of Europe to take courage to throw off the Despot
And to smother in the net of the loosely woven threads the venomous and deceitful beast which

[1] The German word signifies "loss of honour."

Takes the place of the human heart, consumed by anger,
Reviled, scoffed at, despised and universally accursed,
So that mankind will rejoice in the glorious regeneration
When its destroyer falls into the abyss of hell.

There are two Swedish versions of the "Triumph of he Year 1813" corpse-head of Napoleon in the Royal ibrary at Stockholm, which are reproduced from photo-raphs taken under the direction of the Curator, Dr. . W. Dahlgren. One of these was engraved by Johan ustaf Ruckman, a native of Stockholm (1780–1862), nd the other, which has the names of the Allies denoted y numerals at the side, by N. Söderberg, who engraved chool-maps at the beginning of the nineteenth century, ut of whose career little is known.[1]

"Napoleon, the Corsican Phœnix," a folio caricature ublished by John Fairburn, junior, 4 Fountain Court, linories, should, in the opinion of the writer, be attri-uted to the early part of 1815, although the British luseum copy is marked as belonging to 1814. The title, s well as the huge crowing-cock which envelops the pper part of the head, sufficiently denotes the return rom Elba and the commencement of the "Hundred ays." In this case the greater part of the face is made p of two skulls lettered "N" and "B" respectively. his contention is sufficiently borne out by the following xplanatory text :—

NAPOLEON, THE CORSICAN PHŒNIX

"The *Hat of Napoleon* represents the Gallic Cock, his ings expanded, and crowing confident of success. *The nitial of his Name* is branded on his face, as a Mark of

[1] See *ante*, ch. xxvi., and Appendix I.

Infamy. *His Throat* is encircled with a *Serpent*, signifying that he who rises up against his lawful Sovereign, encounters with a Serpent, and shall meet with venomous and deadly repulses. *His Coat* is embroidered with a *Chain*, representing the chain of incidents of Tyranny and Slavery, which many nations have experienced and groaned under, by his boundless Ambition. *His Epaulette* is a *Hand Grasping a Dagger*, an emblem of Usurpation, Assassination, and Horror. *On his Breast* is a *Heart*, overflowing with Ambition to regain his lost Territory, and make the world bend under his Yoke. *Around his Body* is a *Leopard's Skin;* the paw of the Leopard grasps a Sceptre, an emblem of an incorrigible and crafty Villain, the Skin containing such spots as no art can remove or whiten. *His Figure* is enveloped in *Flame*, figurative of the horrors of War and Bloodshed."

Of the countless caricatures levelled against Napoleon Bonaparte since the beginning of the nineteenth century, none captured the public opinion of Europe more completely than this ghastly "corpse-head," in which Mr. Thomas Hardy, who saw it long years after Napoleon's death on the walls of a Dorset cottage, found inspiration for the *Trumpet Major*. Late in 1813 and in the spring of 1814 it made its influence felt from St. Petersburg to Oporto and from Stockholm to Naples. Despite its unaccountable variations both in detail and in interpretation, it helped to stimulate the last Coalitions to a united effort against the insensate ambition of the man who had so needlessly strewn the fair fields of Central Europe with the corpses of his enemies and his conscripts. It was this feature of the "Hieroglyphic Head" which commended it alike to Germans and Russians, Spaniards and Frenchmen. The cruel sacrifice of human life must be

stopped at all costs, and nothing made the personal responsibility of Napoleon for it clearer than the New Year's present of Voltz to his compatriots. The lesson which it taught the Allies in the spring needed further enforcement twelve months later, when Napoleon's return from Elba and the consequences it entailed not only gave fresh force to the old print, but in a measure justified the feelings expressed in the final adaptation of it for which an English publisher was responsible.

CHAPTER XXX

NAPOLEONIC CARICATURES IN POTTERY AND PORCELAIN

"Who is the Potter, pray, and who the Pot?"
—FITZGERALD'S *Rubâiyât of Omar Khayyâm.*

IF the French peasantry throughout the Consulate and the Empire failed to see the realisation of Henry IV.'s dream of a fowl for every pot, it is pretty safe to assert that nearly every cottage mantelpiece was adorned with some kind of bust or statuette of the "Little Corporal," while rude portraits of him and highly coloured pictures of his military achievements occupied the most prominent place on the adjoining wall. It was only in England and Russia, however, and possibly for a brief period in Germany, that the plastic art served as a useful handmaiden to the satirist and the caricaturist, and jugs and mugs covered with anti-Napoleonic designs stood side by side with others devoted to the glorification of Nelson and Wellington, as well as their less celebrated comrades-in-arms. The subject seemingly presented no attractions to the manufacturers of porcelain at Derby, Worcester, Leeds, and Liverpool, but the humbler potters of the Black Country, during the anxious years which intervened between 1803 and 1815, were constantly employed in reproducing on Staffordshire ware of every description the most popular of the innumerable satirical plates

11—259

exhibited in the windows of the London publishers. At the same time the makers of stone-ware at Fulham and elsewhere did a roaring trade in drinking-cups, so fashioned as to resemble the now familiar head and hat of the victor of Marengo and Austerlitz. As a rule most of these productions are disfigured by coarseness of design, but some of the specimens turned out on the receipt of the news of Napoleon's disasters in Russia (and exported in large quantities to that country) are an exception to the rule.

The finest caricature-jug ever seen by the writer is one measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and $31\frac{3}{4}$ inches in girth. It is distinguished by the lightness which characterises the finer sorts of Staffordshire ware. Below the spout is a good view of Moscow in flames, with the words, "Hurrah, Your Serene Highness!" above the dense clouds of smoke. On one side the same words are repeated over the caricature, "Specimen of Russian Chopping Blocks,"[1] in which a *moujik* is depicted in the act of cutting down Napoleon with an axe. Below it, in English *and Russian,* are the lines :—

> "So you're the last, says this brave, honest man,
> Now, Nap, return to Russia if you can."

On the other are the words, "Europe preserved, September 14, 1812."[2] Below is a picture of a Muscovite peasant carrying a gun to which a number of dead French soldiers are hanging. A child by his side treats one of the captured French standards as a hobby-horse.

[1] Appendix A, 823.

[2] The date of Napoleon's entry into Moscow. The fire which destroyed the city broke out the same day.

Below is the bilingual inscription: "A Russian Boor Returning from his Field Sports." [1]

On the rim of a smaller jug in the collection of the writer are the words, "Bonaparte dethron'd, April 1, 1814." The whole of the exterior is covered by a number of small coloured figures on a green ground, with different sentences coming from their mouths. The following is the dialogue thus introduced:—

Bonaparte. "Oh, cursed ambition, what hast thou brought me to now?"

The Evil One (from amidst the flames). "Why, to me. Come, come! Thou hast been a most dutiful child."

An itinerant fiddler. "Oh, destitute Boney, where art thou now?"

A street ballad-seller. "Down with Boney! Wolloping Boney! Where are you now?"

A street urchin. "Where is he going?"

A second street urchin. "To Elba."

A dandy of the Regency (bowing low). "Your most obedient servant."

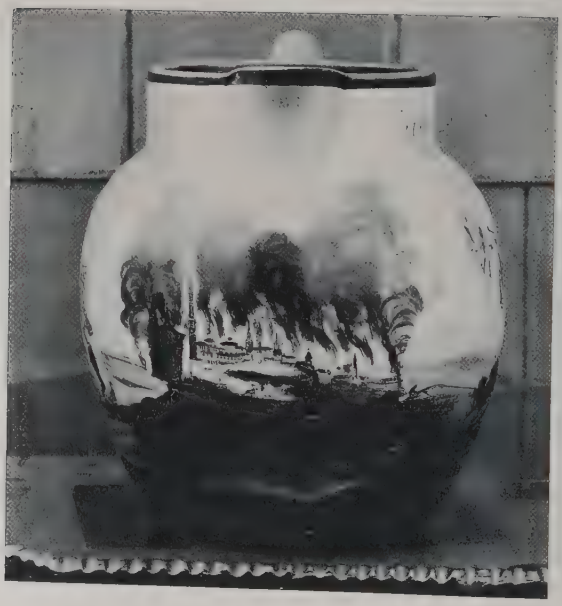
A British citizen (seated at table, and replenishing his glass, "Peace," from the decanter of "Plenty"). "Begone dull care."

John Bull (addressing one of the returned prisoners from France). "Where (*sic*) you one of those confin'd under the gripes of Old Boney?"

The Prisoner. "Yes. About two years ago I weighed 20 stone. You see what I am reduc'd to!"

On a cream-ware tobacco jar decorated with lines of silver lustre are two well-known George Cruikshank

[1] Appendix A, 776.



GALLON JUG COVERED WITH CARICATURES RELATING TO T

II—260

In the

G OF MOSCOW AND THE RETREAT THROUGH RUSSIA (1812)

e writer

caricatures. On one side, "Boney tired of War's Alarms, Flies for Safety to his Darling's Arms." On the other, "Murat Reviewing the Grand Army."

A jug ornamented with lines of silver lustre, bears beneath the spout the name of Elizabeth Smith. Below (on five shields encircled by a wreath) are the "Landlord's Cautions to his Customers," the last of which is :—

"Call Boldly,
Pay Freely,
Part Quietly.
These Rules Observe
Will bring no Sorrow;
Pay To-day
I'll trust To-morrow."

On one side is a caricature entitled "John Bull and his Companion (the Lion) Challenging Bonaparte and his Relation (the Devil)," with the following dialogue :—

The Devil. "Fight him, Dam him, Bony, you'll sooner come home, and you know how impatient we all wait for you."

Bony. "O, vat a terrible John Bull, me be half afraid. Much rather make Peace now I have obtained the Crown. To reign is worth Ambition though in Hell."

John Bull. "Come on, you Murdering Corsican Tyrant. This sprig of oak will soon do your business, and my companion shall fight your Father there behind you."

On the other side is a picture entitled "A Soldier of the 71st Regiment Captures a French Officer in Portugal."[1] The latter is offering the former a well-filled purse, together with his watch and chain.

[1] The original of this caricature was published by S. W. Fores, Sept. 22, 1803.

A very favourite subject with the potters was the caricature showing Napoleon being treated as bagpipes, and entitled "An Old Performer on a New Instrument, or One of the 42nd Toutching (*sic*) the Invincible." It decorates, together with sundry naval emblems, two jugs in the collection of the writer, and evidently belongs to the period of the invasion scare of 1803–5.

The finest series of English pottery decorated with Napoleonic caricatures in existence is probably that formed by Mr. Henry Willett of Brighton, whose collection of pottery and porcelain illustrative of British history is now deposited in the Brighton Museum.[1] The following are the items arranged under the heading :—

NAPOLEON, 1769–1821

376. MUG. Earthenware, printed and coloured with caricature of "Bonny in his New Clothes," referring to Napoleon having been crowned by the Pope in 1804. H. 4¾ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1804. (Another specimen. H. 6½ in.)

379. MUG. Lustred, printed and coloured with a caricature of "Murat Reviewing the Grand Army," and inscription. H. 3½ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1812.

381. JUG. Earthenware, printed and coloured with subjects inscribed "A Russian Boor Returning from his Field Sports," and "Specimen of Russian Chopping Blocks." H. ½ in. *Staffordshire* (*Burslem*). *c.* 1814.[2]

[1] This collection was some years ago loaned to the Bethnal Green Branch of the Victoria and Albert Museum by its owner. An illustrated catalogue of it was issued in 1899 by the Department of Science and Art of the Committee of Council of Education, at the price of sixpence.

[2] A much smaller and inferior example of the large jug already described. The date should certainly be 1813.

383. JUG. Earthenware, in the form of a Russian bear hugging Napoleon; "Boney" stamped on his plumed hat. H. 7¾ in. *Nottingham.* *c.* 1812.

386. JUG. Earthenware, lustred, printed and coloured with a caricature inscribed "The Narrow Escape of Boney through a Window," and representation of "A Cossack of the Oural Mountains." H. 4¾ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). 1812.

387. JUG. Earthenware, lustred, printed and coloured with "Murat Reviewing the Grand Army," and caricature showing how "Boney tired of War's Alarms, Flies for Safety to his Darling's Arms." H. 6 in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1813.

388. JUG. Earthenware, lustred, printed and coloured with a caricature of "Boney's Return from Russia to Paris." H. 4¾ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1813.

389. STATUETTE. Plaster, coloured. Napoleon lamenting the loss of his army in Russia in 1812. H. 5½ in. *c.* 1812.

390. JUG. Earthenware, lustred, printed and coloured with caricatures, "Jack Frost Attacking 'Bony' in Russia," and "Little Bony Sneaking into Paris with a White Feather in his Tail." H. 5 in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1813.

391. JUG. Earthenware, printed and coloured with caricatures, "A Russian Boor Returning from his Field Sports," and "Boney Sneaking into Paris at Midnight." H. 5½ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1813.

393. JUG. Porcelain, printed with a caricature after Gillray, inscribed "The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver," representing George III. looking at Napoleon

through a telescope. H. 5 in. *Staffordshire* (*New Hall*). 1803.

394. Mug. Earthenware, lustred, printed and coloured with Napoleon standing facing the Channel, asking "Who dare stop me?" referring to the proposed invasion of England; and a toad inside. H. 5 in. *Newcastle*. *c.* 1800.[1]

395. Bust. Coloured earthenware. Napoleon. H. 10½ in. *Staffordshire* (*Burslem*). *c.* 1798.

396. Mug. Earthenware, printed with a caricature representing Napoleon on one side of the Channel as a French Cock and John Bull as a Bull on the other, inscribed, "A Cock and Bull Story." H. 3¾ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1800.[2]

397. Cream ware, printed in red with a caricature of "John Bull out of all Patience." H. 5 in. *Staffordshire*. *c.* 1800.[3]

398. Jug. Porcelain, gilt and printed with a caricature of Napoleon as a monkey and John Bull as a dog with a bone, inscribed, "The Bone of Contention," referring to England taking Malta. H. 5¾ in. *Staffordshire* (*New Hall*). *c.* 1800.[4]

399. Jug. Cream ware, printed with caricatures representing a Highlander playing upon Napoleon as if he were bagpipes, inscribed, "God save Great George, our King," and "The Centinel at his Post, or Boney's Peep

[1] A large number of modern forgeries of this jug have recently been put in circulation. *Caveat emptor*.

[2] More probably 1803 or 1804.

[3] Should be 1803.

[4] Here again the date is obviously erroneous. The original caricature which the New Hall potter has adapted is dated May 18, 1803.

"TRIUMPH OF THE YEAR 1813"

A plaque of white glazed earthenware in the Brighton Museum. After the German caricature by Voltz

nto Walmer Castle." H. 8 in. *Staffordshire* (*New Hall*). . 1801.[1]

401. Jug. Porcelain, printed with a caricature, 'National Contrasts, or Bulky and Boney." H. 7¾ in. *Staffordshire* (*New Hall*). *c.* 1800.[2]

404. Jug. Earthenware, lustred.

408. Mug. Earthenware, printed in red and coloured vith a caricature, "The Dons Outwitted, or John Bull n Time," and inscriptions. H. 4⅝ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). 1800.[3]

409. Jug. Earthenware, printed in brown, and coloured with a caricature, "Facing the Enemy." H. 5¼ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1800.[4]

410. Jug. Cream ware, printed and coloured with caricatures, "The Governor of Europe Stoped in his Career"; and "Bonaparte in the Suds." H. 6¾ in. *Staffordshire*. *c.* 1800.[5]

412. Jug. Earthenware, printed and coloured with 'The Ascent of the Aerial Balloon," with inscription, 'May the English Oak produce the Bark to tan the Hide of Bonaparte"; ship with garland and inscription; and 'A West View of the Iron Bridge over the Wear." H. 3 in. *Newcastle*. 1813.

413. Jug. Cream ware, printed and coloured with a

[1] This date is erroneous. The original caricatures are dated Sept. 22, 1803, and Oct. 22, 1803. The jug must have been made late in 1803.

[2] A similar mistake is made here. The caricature appeared in 1803.

[3] The title should be, "The Dons Outwitted, or John Bull in Time *for nce.*" It appeared Nov. 1, 1804. The jug must have therefore been made ater.

[4] This caricature is dated 1803.

[5] Another error as to date. The first-named caricature by Ansell was ublished April 16, 1806, so the jug must have been of later date.

caricature, "Preparations for Hostilities." H. 5½ i
Staffordshire (*Lane End*). *c.* 1805.

414. JUG. Earthenware, printed and coloured wit
a caricature, "Bonaparte and the Quaker." H. 6 i
Staffordshire (*Lane End*). *c.* 1800.[1]

415. JUG. Cream ware, printed and coloured wit
caricatures, "John Bull and his Companion Challengi
Bonaparte and his Relation," and "Bonaparte's La
Shift." H. 7¾ in. *Liverpool* or *Staffordshire*. *c.* 1805.

416. MUG. Cream ware, printed in brown with
caricature of "John Bull Drubbing Bonaparte"; i
background a camp, &c. H. 3½ in. *Staffordshi*
c. 1814.

417. MUG. Cream ware, printed with a beast wit
seven heads, rising from the sea; from one of the
issues the word "Blasphemy." Underneath, "Buona
parte, The Monstrous Beast! as described in the Revela
tions, chap. xiii., ver. 1 and 18." H. 4¾ in. *Staffordshi*
c. 1803.[2]

419. MUG. Earthenware, printed with a caricatu
"John Bull Drubbing Bonaparte." On a gallows is
figure of Napoleon suspended, and inscribed, "The En
of Boney." H. 3¾ in.

420. PLAQUE. White glazed earthenware; with
bust of Napoleon, the features and dress being formed
various figures. 9¼ by 7½ in. *English*. *c.* 1810.[3]

422. JUG. Cream ware, printed in red with caric
tures, "The Governor of Europe Stoped in his Career

[1] An obvious error. The original caricature appeared in May 1803.

[2] The caricature is dated July 22, 1808, and the date given is therefore
least five years too early.

[3] The caricature from which the design on this jug was taken is dat
1813–14.

NO. III.—STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERY IN THE BRIGHTON MUSEUM, ORNAMENTED WITH CARICATURES RELATING TO THE DEFEAT OF NAPOLEON IN 1814 AND 1815. THE MUG AND JUG TO THE RIGHT ARE OF EARLIER DATE

nd Napoleon hanging on a gallows, inscribed, "The Apotheosis of Bonaparte." H. 7 in. *Staffordshire*. . 1814.[1]

423. JUG. Earthenware, printed and coloured with a aricature, "Bonaparte Dethron'd." H. 6½ in. *Staffordhire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1814.

424. JUG. Earthenware, printed in brown and oloured with a caricature, "John Bull giving Boney a Pull." H. 5½ in. *Staffordshire* (*Lane End*). *c.* 1814.

425. FLOWER-POT. Earthenware, printed in brown, vith a monument inscribed, "Peace of Europe signed at Paris, May 30th, 1814," and symbolical figures. H. ¾ in. *Bristol*.[2]

426. MUG. Earthenware, printed with a monument nscribed, "Peace of Europe signed at Paris, May 30th, 814," and "G. R." with figures. H. 4½ in. *Bristol*.

427. COVER OF JAR. Earthenware, printed in violet vithin a wreath, "Peace! May its Duration equal the Years of War." Diameter, 5½ in. 1814.

There are specimens of the Fulham stone-ware heads f Napoleon in the Willett Collection, but the catalogue scribes them to 1820. They were made in the first ears of the nineteenth century. Some of them were ashioned for use as tobacco pipes. The beautiful tatuettes of Napoleon in *biscuit* Derby, and other rare inds of porcelain, are obviously outside the scope of a ork dealing solely with Napoleon in caricature.

[1] The first of these caricatures is dated April 16, 1806, and the other ugust 10, 1803. The jug is probably of earlier date.

[2] Strictly speaking, Nos. 425, 426, and 427 can hardly be described as aricatures.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE AFTERMATH OF NAPOLEON IN CARICATURE (1821–1910)

"Napoleon knew that from that lonely peak would go forth the lege of the new Prometheus. . . . The world had rejected his gospel of forc but would it not thrill to the gospel of pity now to be enlisted in his beha His surmise was amazingly true. The world was thrilled. The story work wonders, not directly for him, but for his fame and his dynasty. . . . T dreary years spent at St. Helena were not the least successful of his care Without them there could have been no second Napoleonic Empire."—Dr. HOLLAND ROSE, *Life of Napoleon*, vol. ii. p. 566.

IT was not till quite thirty years after Napoleon death that the single-sheet caricature, in whi he figured perpetually during a quarter of century, became obsolete. During the whole those three decades the familiar figure of the "Pe Caporal," clad in the traditional grey overcoat or gre uniform, and wearing the low cocked hat, frequent reappeared in the satiric prints of France, England, a Germany. For the purposes of pictorial satire t posthumous power of Napoleon exceeded that of a man who has ever lived, although the pale wraith William Pitt was for a time used extensively as a wh wherewith to scourge Fox and the "Broad-Bottoms" well as their successors. After 1810, however, the spect of the pilot who weathered the storm was finally laid rest, whereas that of his great rival is still regarded an important item in the stock-in-trade of the twentiet

entury caricaturist. It has survived the era of single-heet prints, to be utilised in turn not only by George ruikshank in his "Pop-Gun" of 1860, but by "H. B.," ohn Leech, and the still-living Sir John Tenniel. From he first volume of *Punch* to the last, references are onstantly made to the one personality in the world hich appears to possess an interest and an influence hich are eternal.

The army of occupation had not entirely quitted Paris 816–17) before the true situation in the French capital portrayed in a coloured print entitled "French ire-side."[1] Two elegantly dressed ladies, seated in an Empire" drawing-room, are entertaining two dis-nguished foreigners, one an English officer in full niform and the other a diplomatist. The latter, stand-g on a scroll of paper lettered "Downfall of Paris," ays the violin, while the hostess sings "L'Amour imide." Above the chimney-piece is a fine picture "Napoleon le Grand," flanked by views of Elba and t. Helena. On the mantel-shelf lies the Code Napoleon. t this very moment half-a-dozen caricatures were olding up the obese and self-indulgent Louis the uch-Desired to public ridicule, as vainly endeavouring try on the Bonaparte boots[2] or wash out the enduring nts of the tricolour, while others contrasted the frugality Napoleon's hasty meals with the gourmandising pro-ivities of the restored Bourbons.

In the years which immediately succeeded 1821 the aims of the Duc de Reichstadt, as compared with those the future Comte de Chambord, received the support

[1] Published by J. Le Petit, 24 Capel Street, Dublin.
[2] See *post*, p. 272.

of a generation of caricaturists, whose efforts prepar the way for the Napoleonic revival of 1833–40. The prin "Guess if you can and choose if you dare," is an Engli version of a French original. A soldier of the Old Gua and the son of the dead Emperor point to the bust the latter, over which an eagle holds a laurel wreat An owl hovers ominously over the cradle of the ho of the Bourbons watched by Talleyrand and a pric Nothing helped more materially to keep alive and pop larise the Napoleonic legend than the dissensio which soon arose between the European Powers as the settlement of Europe. Amongst the earlier caric tures of the Aftermath is one entitled "The Ho Alliance Unmasked"[1] The representatives of Russi Austria, France, and England are seated round a tabl beneath which are kneeling a number of subordina sovereigns and pretenders. In the window is seen t green-coated figure of Napoleon with folded arms. T following dialogue is put into the mouths of the di putants.

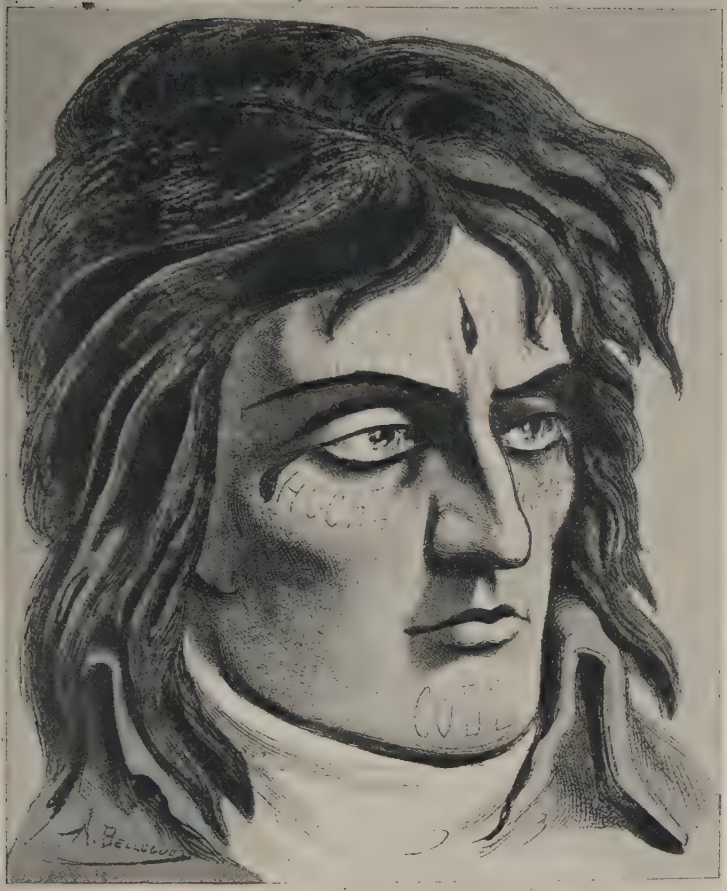
Russia. "Liberty shall be silenced and Ignoran and Bigotry restored. Our first job must be to help Fe dinand to unhead his Patriots and reward his Bigots."

Ferdinand (seated on Alexander's lap). "That's righ master Russia. Were it not for your Kalmucks, I wou be compelled to fulfil my promise of giving my subjec a Constitution."

Austria (bestowing a sly kick at one of the crown suppliants below the table). "We are all of one opini except Mr. Bull; are we not, Monsieur?"

[1] By E. Purcell. Published by J. Dickinson, 116 New Bond Str February 1823.

PILORI-PHRENOLOGIE.



BONAPARTE-LE-CORSE.

A LATE CARICATURE-PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON

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France (in the act of drawing the sword from its abbard). "My King with 100,000 men, whose leader vokes the God of St. Louis, will restore the Inquisition Ferdinand."

England (to whose knees cling two of the Spanish triots, and at whose side are the bull-dogs "Justice" d "Honesty"). "Peace, ungrateful Monarchs. Has t England saved you all from that man at the window, d has she not preserved this *fleur de lys* twenty-five ars at an expense of 500,000,000 (sterling), and if you tempt an attack upon good, free, and courageous paniards you will lose it again, and *England* will assist good men against this infamous Conspiracy. This is most *Unholy Alliance*. I will have no hand in it. My aster is a Constitutional King and greater than you all."

Less than a month later (March 10, 1823), Fairburn ued another Cruikshank plate on the same subject titled "A Hint to the Blind and Foolish." In this nt a number of monkeys are seen busily engaged in shing the wheel-chair of Louis XVIII. down an inclined ane into the hands of the Demon Guillotine. The King blindfold. In one hand he holds the sword of Justice, d in the other a spluttering holy candle. Napoleon, ing from clouds, cries: "Silly Bourbon, remember e consequences of *my* interfering with Spain." The dy of Louis XVI. holds out its decollated head, saying: O brother, brother, be warned by my unhappy fate!" spite of this Louis XVIII. says: "War! war! war! ar with Spain is indispensable. We will carry our asures at home and abroad with the point of the yonet. The Bourbons must be absolute monarchs. e people must be slaves!"

Louis XVIII. survived Napoleon a little over th
years, the latter dying on May 5, 1821, the former
September 16, 1824. In the interval several "aft
math" caricatures appeared. On February 17, 18
John Fairburn published George Cruikshank's "
Bumblehead the 18th trying on Napoleon's Boots,
Preparing for the Spanish Campaign." The obese Fre
sovereign, seated in his wheel-chair,[1] is making fran
efforts to get Napoleon's boots on to his swollen fe
In the distance to the left is a guillotine crowned w
a Phrygian cap. He appeals in vain for help to t
God of St. Louis. His crown is falling off and is bei
caught by the King of Rome, who exclaims: "T
Boots won't fit you, old Bourbon! I'll try them
and bye."

Charles X., the bigoted and narrow-minded succes
of Louis XVIII., became almost immediately the tar
of the satirists on both sides of the Channel, and v
soon discovered the force of Napoleon's saying t
"Four hostile newspapers are more dangerous thar
thousand bayonets." On July 8, 1830, he was depo
and fled to England. In the following month, W. Hea
who had so often used his pencil against Napole
made an important contribution to the caricatures
the Aftermath in a series of prints entitled "Fre
Affairs."[2] In No. 3, the fugitive King is portrayed
a mad dog pursued by the Paris mob, with a ke
tied to its tail, lettered "Cowardice," "Eternal Infam

[1] By the irony of fate in May 1836 Louis Philippe sent the wheel-chair o
corpulent and gouty predecessor as a present to the octogenarian and ir
Talleyrand. Vide *Memoirs of the Duchesse of Dino* (Second Series), p. 3

[2] Published by T. M'Lean, 26 Haymarket.

"Everlasting Disgrace." From a height two spectators look on with evident satisfaction. Napoleon, in his most approved St. Helena attitude, is one of them; the other is Louis XVI., from the lips of whose decollated head proceeds the word "Remember." While the throne of Charles X. was tottering to its fall, Fairburn produced (July 1827) a very amusing "aftermath" caricature, "The Great Unknown, or The Great Captain Cutting up Napoleon the Great," apropos of Sir Walter Scott's *History of Napoleon*. The Duke of Wellington is portrayed in the act of sternly upbraiding Sir Walter Scott upon his inaccuracies in the *Life of Napoleon*. The author of *Waverley* is cutting his book into pieces with a huge carving-knife. On the table are nine volumes so lettered as to form the word "Bonaparte." Wellington says: "Do you mean to libel me, sir, by this work? Cut every paragraph out that tends to *exalt* the character of *Bonaparte* and lower *mine* in the estimation of the public." Scott replies: "Faith, mon, I described him true enough, but, if your Grace desires it, I'll cut him up and dissect him so that neither you nor the devil himself would ken him again. But what will John Bull say, eh mon?" In the rear is an advertisement of "The only correct and impartial life of Napoleon, by Ireland."

Louis Philippe, now chosen King of the French, was credited with broader and more enlightened ideas.[1] Napoleon had prophesied for him a period of power before the King of Rome should come to his own. He

[1] Louis Philippe in the early days of his reign collected a large number of anti-Napoleonic caricatures. At the sale of the contents of the Château d'Eu, M. Godefroy Mayer secured some exceedingly rare specimens for the writer.

initiated an era of revived Napoleonic enthusiasm c which the most remarkable existing memorials are th Vendôme Column, the gorgeous tomb-house of th Invalides, and the galleries of Marshals and Battles a Versailles. Béranger sang sonorously of the prowess the man who made France great and powerful, an a French Prince of the blood brought back his remain from the sea-girt rock in the Atlantic to find a last resting place "on the borders of the Seine, amongst the peopl he loved so well."

It was on July 28, 1833 (in virtue of an ordinanc of April 8, 1831), that the new statue of Napoleon, b E. Seurre, was placed on the summit of the Vendôm Column, and inaugurated with martial solemnities Almost from the day of Napoleon's death caricaturist and the designers of symbolical pictures have in tur exercised their ingenuity on "The Column." As earl as 1822 Bodin produced the plate in which an old soldie is made to say significantly :—

"J'irai mourir au champ d'honneur
Ou bien au pied de la colonne."

Shortly after the re-inauguration we have a secon picture on similar lines with the verse :—

"O toi dont l'humble Mausolée
S'élève au sien des vastes Mers
Que ton ombre soit consolée
Les Français ont brisés leurs fers,

[1] The erection of the Column of Victory, formed from some 200 piec of Russian and Austrian cannon captured in 1805, was begun in 1806 a terminated in 1810. The first statue was of classical design. In Seurr statue Napoleon was represented in his cocked hat and long coat. T existing statue resembles the first. It is the fourth. Napoleon III. replac Louis Philippe's "Petit Caporal" with a classical figure on Nov. 4, 186 This was demolished by the Commune, May 16, 1871.

Notre Ris (bis) sait rendre justice á ta gloire
De Nos triples couleurs il a paré ses Etendards
Tu fus le Fils de la Victoire
Il sera le Pére des Arts."

A little later another "Colonne Vendôme" plate, by Tassaert, appeared at Mayence, in which the statue is made to say: "Français, je suis content de vous. L'univers n'apprendra pas sans joie que ma statue est relevée. La posterité vous applaudira. Mais j'attends une dernière preuve de votre amour. Ma cendre captive loin des doux rivages de la France réclame sur la base de cette colonne une tombe digne de moi." During the reign of Charles X. the "Colonne" was adroitly used as an engine of satire by the enemies of the restored Royalists. Veterans point admiringly to it, saying: "Ah! one is proud to be a Frenchman when one looks at *that column*." By the side of it is the tottering "Colonne Seigneuriale" adorned with the extinguishers, "Privilege," "Vassalage," and "Taxation."

It was in small as well as in great things that the gradual change in public opinion as regards Napoleon manifested itself. During the fourth decade of the nineteenth century Napoleonic dramas, pamphlets, almanacs, games, playing guards, and song-books were almost as popular as in the first. The fervour, which was the natural outcome of the "Second Funeral of Napoleon" in 1841, had its epilogue seven years later when Louis Philippe abdicated, to be replaced, first as President, and then as Emperor, by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who, as Napoleon III., accomplished the task which the untiring exertions of his uncle between 1815 and 1821 had made possible. The Citizen King had suffered as much at the

hands of the contemporary caricaturists as Napoleo himself did in the dark days when the sun of succes set behind the clouds of misfortune. In many of thes prints, Louis Philippe, like his immediate predecessors suffered by comparison to Napoleon, when kings wer his vassals and his word was law from one end of Europ to another. In France there is nothing which kills lik ridicule, and it was to pictorial satire that the pear-shape face of the sovereign peculiarly lent itself. The geniu of Daumier and Philipon combined to make the *poi* the laughing-stock of Paris, and that would have prove fatal to a far stronger man than the good-natured, easy going son of "Égalité," who had fought for the firs Republic, and gone over to the Austrians with Dumouriez We have, however, no concern with the "pear" carica tures, for they do not directly relate to the Napoleoni aftermath. There is, however, one large coloured prin of the first month of 1832 [1] in which we again see th Man of Destiny in his grey overcoat and inevitabl cocked hat. From the clouds he looks down calmly o the scene passing in the world below. Louis Philipp reposes uneasily in a homely bedstead. A demon bearing a torch, rises from the floor. On the left typical *sans culotte* carries a black flag inscribed "Libert ou la Mort"; on the right is a distant view o Holyrood, with a group of priests and courtiers (Talley rand amongst them) in the foreground. The sceptre o the King is grasped by the Duke of Reichstadt, wh points upwards to his father, while the child Henry Duke of Bordeaux (the Comte de Chaubord of forty yea

[1] "The Awfull (*sic*) Dream." London, Hell Street. Vindex printed- Nemesis *inv. et fect.*

later), clasped in the arms of his father, the Duke de Berry, clutches at the crown. Twenty years later it was fated that Napoleon's nephew should ascend the imperial throne, but the last opportunity of "Henry V., the ten-year-old Bourbon of 1831," was not lost until the third empire had given place to the third republic.

The sheet-caricature endured somewhat longer in France than in England. In the early days of the reign of Napoleon III. the revival of public interest in all that concerned the history of Napoleon I. was even more intense than that which followed the accession of Louis Philippe. Patriotic songs appeared in large numbers decorated with portraits of Napoleon, and caricatures in ridicule of the Bourbons. All Paris began singing—

> "Honneur! Honneur! à l'Empereur
> Dont la gloire parmi nous fait chérir la mémoire.
> Honneur! Honneur! à l'Empereur
> Ce joli chasseur. Ce charmant vainqueur."

The wire-pullers of the *coup d'état* worked on the enthusiasm of the populace for all it was worth, for had not Napoleon himself declared that "imagination rules the world," and that "men are led by trifles"? For a time the inherent force of the Napoleonic legend seemed to carry all before it. It was the death of Napoleon I. at St. Helena in 1821 that prepared the way for the *plébiscites* of 1848, 1851, and 1852. Talleyrand was woefully mistaken when he spoke of the last act of the tragedy at Longwood as "no event, only news." Soon arose the cloud no bigger than a man's hand. The pamphleteer and caricaturist were at work again, and Napoleon "the Little" was to endure the torture under which Napoleon "the Great" had winced more than he ever admitted.

In the pictures disparaging the nephew at the expense of the uncle we have a whole series of satirical prints which legitimately belong to the aftermath described in this chapter. The Russian war of 1853–54 breaks out, and it is evident that the Anglo-French alliance was not universally popular. The history of 1812–13 in a measure repeats itself, but the bilingual caricatures in French and Russian now appear in Paris and not in London. Napoleon I. looks down from the sky through a telescope at his nephew, disguised as a bill-sticker, who is covering the dead walls with posters inscribed "Guerre à la Russie," "Alliance avec l'Angleterre," and so forth, while a formidable bull-dog holds the paste-pot with his teeth. Napoleon is made to say, in Russian as well as in French, "Allons, voilà mon pointu de neveu qui en fait des sienes! (*sic*) que vois-je? Guerre à la Russie! Alliance avec l'Angleterre! Sa-pris-ti-c'est ainsi qu'il me venge! Malediction, ai-je-dit, sur celui qui pactiserai avec ces infames bouldogues, et lui-tenez, il en garde un échentillon près de soi."

Five years later John Bull (the *infame bouldogue* of the Crimean caricature) had reason to suspect the good faith of the French Emperor. The anxiety which pervaded the public mind in 1859–60 is reflected in the letters of both Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Men still living remembered the invasion terror of 1797–1815, so frequently referred to in these volumes. George Cruikshank, who had begun to caricature "Little Boney" in the year of Trafalgar, entered the field as the defender of the Volunteers of 1803.[1] The man who had satirised the uncle so unmercifully from 1805 to

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 29.

1815 now began to wield his still vigorous pencil and etching needle against the nephew. Many of the old ideas were again trotted out, and George Cruikshank drew on the title-page of his "Pop-Gun" the British lion in a pugilistic attitude ready to defend "the tight little island" of Dibdin's songs against all comers. In the caricatures of 1859–60 we are face to face not only with the Napoleonic aftermath, but with the ghost of those troublous times at the commencement of the nineteenth century, when a patriot king, notwithstanding the weight of more than sixty years, was prepared to lead an army against the invaders of our coast.

The second Empire, towards the end of the decade which had now begun, was nearing its end. Napoleon III. was attacked no longer with the rapier thrusts, but by the bludgeons of pictorial satire. The idea of the 'Corpse-head" of 1814[1] was once more pressed into service, and the threadbare reproach of Corsican birth was again revived. There is in the collection of the writer's caricatures of this period a horrible and pallid face of the first Napoleon as he might have been in 1795–96. Blood oozes from his forehead and eyes. On the former are the words "Duc d'Enghien-Tyrannie"; below the right eye, "Hoche"; below the left, "Marceau"; on the nose, "Cruauté"; and on the stern, determined chin, "Code." The print bears the following verse :—

BONAPARTE-LE-CORSE

La Honte du présent; les abus de la force;
La France, avec l'honneur, perdant la liberté.
L'esprit du siècle, enfin, meurtri dans sa fierté;
C'est l'œuvre du tyran :—Bonaparte le corse!

[1] See *ante*, ch. xxix.

Another favourite form of attack was to apply pictor
ally to the nephew the moral of Æsop's fable of the "Bu
and the Frog." A gigantic Napoleon I. looks down con
temptuously on a manikin Napoleon III. with the bod
of a frog, who vainly endeavours to obtain the propor
tions of his uncle.

In the German as well as the French pictorial satir
of 1870–71 the aftermath of the Napoleonic caricature
of 1811–15 is plainly discernible. There is a Berlin a
well as a Paris print of Napoleon III. as he is supposed
to have appeared on September 5, when he arrived a
Wilhelmshöhe. In each plate the nephew is made t
wear the grey coat and low cocked hat of the uncle
There are caricatures of the destruction of the Colum
Vendôme by the Communists in May 1871, but th
Napoleonic legend survived the new Terror, and o
August 31, 1874, the stately pillar was re-erected, an
the figure of Napoleon once more dominates the stately
houses he must have often seen when at the zenith o
his power.

The force of the aftermath of Napoleonic caricatur
in England could be effectively illustrated by an exami
nation of the volumes of *Punch*, which, for at leas
half a century, has filled the place occupied by th
wares which a century ago filled the windows of Fores
Humphrey, Ackermann, Tegg, and their less famou
rivals and contemporaries. In the pages of *Punch* w
catch frequent glimpses, not only of the enduring interes
felt in Napoleon, but of those who have personated hin
either on the dramatic stage or in some less seriou
manner. As in France, so in England, the failings o
the Second Empire were attacked by contrasts to th

dvantage of the First. Napoleon III came to us as a iend; he had been at intervals our guest during many eary years of exile, but for all that he is always Napoleon *e Little*. It has been thus, as far as the aftermath of apoleonic caricature in this country is concerned, ever nce the *coup d'état* of 1852.

The allusions to Napoleon I. in the pages of *Punch* re both numerous and interesting. In 1843 we learn at Queen Victoria's decision to wear her hair in bands" had caused a panic amongst hair-dressers, s serious as that occasioned by Napoleon's resolve to iscard hair-powder.[1] In the same issue Lord Brougham reminded by Douglas Jerrold[2] that the Conqueror of aly was a married man, when "a general of twenty-ve." Only sixty pages further on a fancy portrait of apoleon by Thackeray[3] heads an article by Gilbert Beckett entitled "The Astley-Napoleon Museum." Mr. Gomersal had been appearing as Napoleon in an uestrian spectacle at the well-known circus-theatre on e other side of Westminster Bridge. By attributing e possession of a collection of Napoleonic relics to omersal, the writer was able to make fun simultaneously th of the transpontine entertainment and the Napoleon useum, then in view at the Egyptian Hall. "To all ho take an interest in the history of these remarkable mes," writes Mr. à Beckett, "when Mr. Gomersal was thoroughly imbued with the sense of his own Napoleon-n that, in a fit of patriotism, he one day went to the

[1] Vol. iv. 1843, p. 114.
[2] *Idem*, p. 116.
[3] An original copy of Thackeray's booklet *The Second Funeral of apoleon*, now brings from £40 to £50.

War Office and declared himself a prisoner—to all, v repeat, who feel delight in tracing the events of th very curious era, the Astley-Napoleon Museum w well repay the expense and trouble of a visit.

In two at least of the *Bon Gaultier Balla* (1841–45),[1] the aftermath of Napoleonic caricature very happily dealt with both in parody and illustratio In "The Midnight Visit" the exiled Emperor is su posed to appear to his old enemy the "Lord of Castl reagh":—

"A little man, of stately mien, with slow and solemn stride;
His hands were crossed upon his back, his coat is opened wide;
And in his vest of green he wears an eagle and a star,—
St. George! protect us! 'tis the Man—the thunderbolt of war.

Is that the famous hat that waved along Marengo's ridge?
Are these the spurs of Austerlitz—the boots of Lodi's bridge?
Leads he the conscript swarms again from France's hornet hive
What seeks the fell usurper here, in Britain, and alive?"

The statesman turns pale as Napoleon says in stride tones:—

"Thou think'st that England hates me! Mark! This very night n
name
Was thundered in its capital with tumult and acclaim!
They saw me, knew me, owned my power—Proud lord, I sa
beware!
There be men within the Surrey side, who know to do and dare!

The ghost vanishes, leaving a roll of paper on t floor.

[1] The first edition of the *Bon Gaultier Ballads* appeared in 1845. It v illustrated by Alfred Crowquill. Richard Doyle and Crowquill collabora in illustrating subsequent editions. The services of John Leech were f utilised in 1849.

With trembling hands Lord Castlereagh undid the mystic scroll,
With glassy eye essayed to read, for fear was on his soul.
What's here? At Astley's every night the play of Moscow's Fall!
NAPOLEON, for the thousandth time by Mr. Gomersal!'"

By way of tailpiece, Mr. Doyle contributes a back ew of the exile of St. Helena, elaborated on lines some- hat similar to those of the caricature portrait erroneously tributed to Cruikshank. The authors devote another llad entirely to "Fernando Gomersalez," who, in the rly years of Queen Victoria's reign, drew all London ght after night to see his impersonation of Napoleon.

Towards the end of 1845,[1] under the heading of nvasions of England," we are told that "The Napoleon lumn at Boulogne has just been completed, after wards of thirty years' labour. The completion of it s lately been deferred out of compliment to the Prince Joinville, who felt rather scrupulous about a monu- nt being finished in honour of an invasion that had ver taken place. His consent, however, was at last ned by the promise that a similar column should be cted opposite Brighton, to commemorate a visit that warlike Prince paid there a short time ago."

In the following year Richard Doyle contributed a ver woodcut of Napoleon in the traditional great-coat l hat to *Punch's Historical Portrait Gallery*. In the ompanying text, attention is again called to the ersonation of the irrepressible Gomersal, and the squerading of Tom Thumb as the French Emperor.[2] he popular notion of Napoleon in this country,"

[1] Vol. xi. 1846, p. 122.

[2] Tom Thumb appeared as Napoleon before the Royal Families of land and France. There is also a coloured print of a boy-actor named te in the same rôle.

"Mr. Punch" informs us, "is founded on the v vaguest materials, but our sources have embraced nea all the sources of information, from the old original ca in plates of Paris down to the version recently giv by Tom Thumb of the character of Buonaparte. . . . seems to have worn the grey great-coat of a Brit private soldier, possibly taken in some battle with t English; and though the garment might well be adap for winter wear, his pertinacity in sticking to it throu the hot as well as the cold weather affords a striki proof of the determination of the Emperor's character.

In the year 1847, "Mr. Punch" made good use Napoleon for the castigation of Louis Philippe, who reign was about to end with yet another revoluti On October 27, the "Citizen King" appears both "The Napoleon of Peace" and in a fantastic equestri portrait entitled "Louis Phillip's A-going out Sporting Reminiscent of David's Picture of Napoleon Crossing t Alps." In the first-named cartoon Richard Doyle dra Louis Philippe in Napoleon's hat and coat. The pock of the latter are fortresses bristling with cannon. the background fierce fighting is going on in Algie Tangiers, Spain, and Italy. The following faceti notice accompanies it:—

"THE OLD FLINT

"The Napoleon of Peace is selling off his old muskets. Swit land has had cart-loads of them, and the Pope has had a sn lot of 12,000 offered to him, but has declined them with very best compliments. They are old muskets with flint loc which it seems every one snaps his fingers at, and will not go at any price. It seems a great joke the Napoleon of Peace s ing instruments of war."

Louis Napoleon was "Prince President" in 1850, hen another Napoleonic entertainment in London, this me at the Surrey Zoological Gardens, gave *Punch* an xcuse for an article without illustration, "Napoleon rossing the Alps."[1] "This grand historical sight," ys the writer, "may be seen three or four nights a eek; Napoleon crosses the Alps in a manner that is ot mentioned, we believe, by Thiers, or Bourrienne, or Valter Scott, or *Chambers' Tracts*, or any other historian. he manner in which he effects it is by sliding on at slow pace across a large sheet of water, and as he is horseback, the reading, it will be clear, is quite a ew one. . . . We have always understood that Napoleon ossed the Alps in the daytime, for the ascent would ave been too perilous at night with a horse like the e David has given him, which must, in one of its traordinary amphitheatrical *jambades*, have tumbled, der and all, over the first precipice that came in its ay; and if Napoleon did cross in the daytime, it is ery clear he never would have done it in the company a great display of fireworks, the effect of which would ave been perfectly lost. Napoleon was not so fond of ding his candle under a bushel as to burn ten thousand oman candles in the broad daylight. He was quite ever enough to know that a kind of *jeu* like that cerinly *ne valait pas la chandelle*, or at least so many *andelles*."

The President became Emperor, and in the spring of 58 the question of his uncle's legacy to the would-be sassin of Wellington crops up somewhat inconveniently. is thus mentioned in *Punch's Essence of Parliament*.[2]

[1] Vol. xxx. p. 42.

[2] Vol. xxxiv. p. 72.

"When, after a long career of wicked usurpati violence, and injustice, the first Napoleon, rend nearly harmless by captivity, grew irritable and ma nant, he bequeathed a legacy to a man named Cantil who had been accused of trying to murder the Duk Wellington. In the words of bequest was include justification of the assassin. Portions of this legacy w paid, but when the third Napoleon ordered the un filled trusts of his uncle's will to be carried out, and balance of this gift was demanded, it was withheld the executors on the ground that a man who could m such a bequest must at the moment have been insa This fact, explained by Lord Palmerston this even is much to the credit of all who had the sense and cour to condemn a crime applauded by a conqueror."

There was mischief brewing between the two count before the year was out,[1] but "Mr. Punch" has sympathy with Sir Francis Head and his brother alarmi whose invasion theory he ridicules in a short but tr chant article, entitled "Our National Defence ness."

On December 22, 1875, a leader-writer in the *Ti* had declared that "the first Napoleon has been worst enemy of modern France. . . . Another Sedan always be possible as long as the chief exemplar of nation is the peculiar kind of Cæsar, who is comme rated by the Vendôme Column."

On New Year's day, 1876, "Mr. Punch" publishes following verses[2]:—

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[1] Vol. xxxiv. p. 245. Dec. 18, 1858.

[2] Written by the late Mr. E. J. Milliken.

BONAPARTE

"When looking on the present face of things,
I see one Man, of Men the meanest, too,
Raised up to sway the World."—*Wordsworth.*

"*Marforio.* E vero, Pasquino che tutti i Francesi sono ladri?
Pasquino. Tutti, no, ma *buona parte.*"

How long it takes the truth to learn!
Late Lesson! Own we naught absurder
Than blood to shed and cities burn,
And glory seek in wholesale murder.

Yet such a halo of romance
Circled about the eagle standard,
Napoleon won the heart of France,
And men who called him vile were slandered.

That maddest, meanest man of men—
Of half the world the quondam master:—
Was sudden stricken down, and then
Whimpered about his own disaster.

He left the nation, wild with rage,
His body in an ocean prison;
From her Imperial heritage,
What good to France has yet arisen?

The French are a forgiving race.
They're ready now, with aspect solemn,
Their brasen hero to replace
Upon his tall Parisian column.

Recast, rehoist the effigy,
That e'en the Commune's hands found brittle;
Set up his statue ne'er so high,
The Little Corporal still is little.

A quarter of a century later[1] and Napoleon is made
e central and dominant figure in a large folding plate
the late Mr. Linley Sambourne, the "Roll of Fame,

[1] *Punch's Almanack* for 1900.

1800–1900." Mounted on "Marengo," and clad in the evitable overcoat, he rides proudly forward, accompan by Wellington, Nelson, and Collingwood, who, like B marck, von Moltke, Gladstone, Bright, and the Empe William I., who lead the cavalcade, are on foot. T Thumb is there also in his favourite disguise, and Lo Napoleon, tottering feebly beneath the weight of imperial robes, presents a striking contrast to the maje mien of his illustrious uncle and predecessor. At the of that year, on the very eve of the new century, L Rosebery's *Last Phase* and Lord Morley's *Croma* make their appearance. Mr. Sambourne depicts two writers in juxtaposition, wearing the garb of th respective heroes, and examining carefully each othe books. Nearly eighty years after the closing scene St. Helena the aftermath of Napoleonic caricature happily illustrated in "Two Appreciations."[1]

Napoleon Rosebery (to himself). "I wish he'd brou out his *Cromwell* a little later!"

Cromwell John Morley (to himself). "I wish h brought out his *Napoleon* much earlier."

Within a twelvemonth the Boer prisoners were camped within sight of Longwood, and another crop "aftermath" caricatures was the immediate consequen

[1] *Punch*, vol. cxix. p. 363.

[2] Mr. W. Lawrence Bradbury has kindly supplemented Mr. M. Spielmann's information by giving the writer a list of the illustrations other allusions to Napoleon which have appeared in *Punch* during the twenty years.

		PAGE	
1891—April	18.	192.	"Napoleon B. Bolton."
1893—June	17.	188.	"Napoleon Boltonparty, M.P."
1895—Almanack.		—	"Napoleon and Wellington Street."
Feb.	9.	70.	"A Parliamentary House Warming."
Aug.	3.	50.	"Defeated."

In the caricatures of the twentieth century the ghost of Napoleon reappears even more often than it did in those of the latter part of the nineteenth, and so it will probably be for all time. As it is in the realm of caricature, so it is in the greater worlds of Art and Literature. The fascination of the personality of the "Great Man" has lost none of its charms. His memory remains a factor in the world's history, and his name one to conjure with on the eve of the projected marriage of the representative of his dynasty, his great-nephew, the grandson of the

1895—Sept.	14.	130.	"Our Booking Office."
Oct.	5.	160.	"At Cromer."
1896—Oct.	24.	204.	"At Chalons."
Oct.	31.	215.	"A Walled Town."
1897—Almanack.		—	"Amateur Tableaux Vivants, No. 1."
April	24.	201.	"A Nappy Thought at the Lyceum."
June	19.	290.	"Tom Thumb at Buckingham Palace (1884)."
1898—Feb.	19.	82.	"The Zulu Chief Dinizulu."
1899—April	12.	180.	"Two or Three Napoleons."
Sept.	13.	127.	"The Degenerates."
Sept.	20.	142.	"Unrecorded History."
Oct.	4.	166.	"A Hitherto Unknown Meissonier."
1900—Almanack.		—	"The Roll of Fame" (Portrait).
March	14.	187.	"Fortune of War."
Nov.	21.	365.	"Two Appreciations."
1902—March	26.	232.	"From the *Daily News*."
July	2.	487.	"Au Grand Sérieux."
1903—Feb.	4.	75.	"Ars (Britannica) longa."
March	18.	193.	"L'Œil du Maître."
May	13.	338.	"The Young Napoleon and the Irish Sphinx."
1906—Almanack.		—	"Napoleon Arnold Foster."
June	13.	427.	"Sir Edward Clark as Napoleon."
July	18.	49.	"The Man of Destiny."
1907—Feb.	20.	140.	"Napoleon at the Bar."
March	6.	177.	"Napoleon B. Haldane."
March	13.	182.	"Monarchs of the Stage."
June	26.	457.	"Napoleon Haldane."
1908—March	25.	230.	"Haldane."
June	24.	461.	"The Militant Sex."
1910—July	6.	—	"Napoleon Bonaparte Haldane."

wayward Jerome, to the great-granddaughter of Louis Philippe. As far as the story of Napoleon in Caricature is concerned, the writer's task is accomplished, and with "Mr. Punch's" latest references to the Napoleonic Legend lying before him, he is forcibly reminded of the concluding verse of Mr. J. H. de Burgh's "O Gloria!"

"Yes, doubtless, 'tis a great thing to be great,
When a great life's crowned by a glorious fall;
But Babylonian and Parisian state
Ended right sorrily for Greek and Gaul.
Well! 'twas a strange stern irony of Fate,
That of two men who held the world in thrall
One died the victim of a silly bet,[1]
The other bullied by a martinet."

[1] Alexander the Great.

APPENDIX A

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENGLISH NAPOLEONIC CARICATURES

ABBREVIATIONS

ARTISTS—

I. C., Isaac Cruikshank ; G. C., George Cruikshank ; I. R. C., Isaac Robert Cruikshank; G., Gillray; R., Rowlandson ; W., Woodward ; A., Ansell.

The initials G. S. and G. H. found on some prints stand for George auley of Farnham, and George Humphrey respectively.

UBLISHERS—

A., Ackermann ; H., Humphrey; F., Fores ; Hd., Holland ; K., Knight; W. and K., Walker and Knight; W., Walker [London]; R., Roberts; L. and W., Lawrie and Whittle (or Whittle and Lawrie); T., Tegg; J., Johnston.

OLLECTIONS—B. M., British Museum ; * Broadley.

Reverse.—This term indicates one of a series of pirated caricatures which the positions of the figures in the original are reversed.

Caricatures marked § appeared in the *Satirist;* ‡ in the *Scourge;* in the *Meteor;* ‖ in the *Life of Napoleon* by Dr. Syntax. A † dicates that the print was subsequently reproduced or adapted in *ondon und Paris; Paris, Wien und London,* or *Paris und Wien.*

The order of words in the short title, however abbreviated, is that n the caricature ; only the article is shifted : the spelling is retained.

* By ARTIST is meant the Draughtsman ('*del.*'), or the Draughtsman and tcher, when one and the same person, as in nearly all Gillray's caricatures. here the Draughtsman is not indicated, the Etcher or Engraver is given, th '*sc.*' after his name. In many cases both the Draughtsman and the tcher are set down, when of equal importance, as in the Woodward-Row-ndson alliance. Here and there the Designer, or 'Inventor,' is mentioned, th '*inv.*' after his name.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
	A.				
1	Ackermann's Transparency (on Waterloo). *And see* Two Kings of Terror *and* Transparency Exhibited.	R.	A.	June 22, 1815	*
2	Affecting and Sublime Scene (An) . . .	G C.	K.	Feb. 6, 1814	*
3	Affectionate Farewell (The)	R.	A.	April 17, 1814	*
4	After the Invasion	A.	F.	Aug. 6, 1803	B. M. *
5	After-peice (*sic*) to the Tragedy of Waterloo	G. C.	Hone	Nov. 9, 1815	*
6	Alexander I. (on Lion and Unicorn) . .	Heath	A.	March 4, 1814	*
7	Alexander I. (hieroglyphic portrait) . .	R.	J.	April 1814	*
8	Alexander and Bonaparte (original sketch)	I. C.	—	Summer 1805	*
9	Allied Bakers (The)	G. C. ; G. H. *inv.*	H.	April 1, 1814	*
10	Allied Efforts (The) (*French source*) . . *Cf.* Louis XVIII. climbing ; *and* Mât de Cocagne.	Anon.	—	Autumn 1815	*
11	Allied Monarchs and Generals	Anon.	F.	April 28, 1814	*
12	Allied Powers Unbooting Egalité . . .	G.	H.	Sept. 1, 1799	B. M. *
13	Allies entering Paris (The)	Anon.	F.	April 20, 1814	*
14	Allies' Shaving Shop (The)	—	K.	Nov. 23, 1813	*
—	Alphabet ; *see* Loyalist's ; *and* Child's Instructor.				

16	Amusement after Dinner (An)	West	Hd.	July 1, 1803	B.M.
—	'And . . . Seven Kings.' *See* Prophecy Explained.				
17	Anticipation for Boney	G. C.	K.	March 6, 1813	*
18	Anticipation for Boney. *Reverse* . . .	—	McCleary	Spring 1813	*
19	Anticipation: Ways and Means . . .	I. C.	F.	Aug. 13, 1798	*
20	Apollyon, the Devil's Generalissimo . .	G. C.	A.	Oct. 7, 1808	*
21	Apotheosis of Bonaparte (The). *Broadside*	Woodthorpe	Badcock	Aug. 10, 1803	*
22	Apotheosis of the Corsican Phœnix . .	G.	H.	Aug. 2, 1808	B. M. *
23	Apples and the Horse-Turds (The) . .	G.	H.	Feb. 24, 1800	B. M. *
24	Arch Design (An)	G. C.	J.	January 1813	*
25	Arch-Dutchess Maria Louisa, &c. (The) .	Anon.	T.	April 12, 1810	*
26	†Armed Heroes	G.	H.	May 18, 1803	*
27	Armistice (The) (6 pictures)	Anon.	Harwood	Summer 1813	*
28	Arms of France (The)	G.	Hatchard	Sept. 6, 1803	B. M. *
—	Arms of Napoleon. *See* Characterestic Design; Corsican Usurper's; Rise and Progress; *and* Explanation.				
29	†Assemblée Nationale (L')	G.	H.	June 18, 1804	*
—	Astre Brillant; *see* Napoléon le Grande.				
30	Attempt on the Potatoe Bag (An) . . .	Anon.	R.	August 1803	B. M.
31	Attempt to Destroy the British Fleet (An)	Anon.	R.	Autumn 1803	Brothers
32	Attempt to Swallow the World (An) . .	W.	Hd.	April 6, 1803	B. M. *
33	Attempt to Undermine John Bull (An) .	Anon.	R.	April 16, 1803	B. M. *
34	Awfull Dream (The)	'Nemesis'	'Vindex'	*Circa* 1836	*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
	B.				
35	Balance of Power (The) (1)	A.	F.	Dec. 1, 1801	B. M. *
36	Balance of Power (The) (2)	Anon.	R.	Oct. 11, 1803	B. M.
37	Balance of Power (The) (3)	G. H. *inv.*	K.	June 25, 1815	B. M.
38	Bastard (The)	Anon.	—	May 1803	—
39	Battle of Leipsic. *Broadside*	Anon.	J. Smyth	Nov. 1813	*
—	Battle of Leipzig. *See* Boney Griped .	—	—	—	—
40	Battle of Pul-tusk (The)	'Amateur'	—	Spring 1807	*
41	Battle of Vittoria (The) . . . . . *And see* Flight of Joseph *and* More Trophies.	G. C.	T.	July 7, 1813	*
42	Battle Royal (A)	—	Hd.	April 20, 1802	*
43	Bear and the Monkey (The)	—	T.	Oct. 10, 1807	*
44	Bear, the Bull Dog and the Monkey (The)	Heath	Hd.	Aug. 24, 1812	*
45	Bear, the Monkey, the Turkey and the Bull (The)	I. & G. C.	T.	Dec. 20, 1807	B. M. *
46	Beast as Described in Revelations (The)	G. S. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	July 22, 1803	*
47	Ben Block's Epistle to Buonaparte. *Br.*	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	Allen	Sept. 5, 1803	Brothers.
48	Billingsgate at Bayonne	R.	A.	July 10, 1808	*
49	Birth of Bonoparte (*sic*)	Anon.	A.	Oct. 10, 1813	*
50	Bleeding and Warm Water	G. C.	T.	Dec. 12, 1812	*

51	‡Blessings of Paper Money (The) . . .	G. C.	Jones	Aug. 1, 1811	*
52	‖Blindfolded Austrian Officer (The) . .	G. C.	T.	Dec. 1, 1814	*
53	Blockade against Blockade	A.	T.	Nov. 1807	B. M. *
54	Bloody Boney, the Carcass Butcher . .	R.	T.	April 12, 1814	*
55	‖Blowing up the Bridge at Liepsic (*sic*) .	G. C.	T.	Jan. 6, 1815	*
56	Blucher the Brave Extracting, &c. . .	R.	T.	April 9, 1814	*
57	Blucherion (*sic*) Discipline	Elmes	T.	Mar. 22, 1813	*
58	Bonaparte. *Broadside*	G. C.	L. & W.	Mar. 25, 1811	*
59	Bonaparte addressing the Legislative Body	Elmes	T.	Feb. 24, 1813	B. M. *
60	Bonaparte and the Quaker	W.	R.	May 1803	B. M. *
61	Bonaparte blockading John Bull . . .	G.S.; Heideloff *sc.*	A.	Dec. 1806	B. M. *
62	Bonaparte entering Paris	Sidebotham *inv.*	Sidebotham	April 1815	*
63	Bonaparte on the . . . *Northumberland* .	Williams	Palser	Jan. 1, 1816	B. M. *
64	Bonaparte regenerating . . . Poland .	G. S. *del.*	A.	Feb. 1, 1807	B. M. *
65	Bonaparte reviewing his Conscripts . .	Elmes	T.	Feb. 23, 1813	B. M. *
66	Bonaparte's Bridge (8 pictures) . . .	Anon.[1]	T.	Dec. 1, 1813	B. M. *
67	Bonaparte's Flight from Elba (*French source*)	Anon.	—	March 1815	*
68	Bonaparte's Flight in Disguise . . .	Atkinson	Orme	Jan. 20, 1813	*
69	Bonaparte's Grand Exposé	W.	Hd.	Feb. 1804	*
70	Bonaparte's Head Quarters in London .	Anon.	A.	Summer 1803	*
—	Bonaparte's Retreat; *see* Battle of Leipsic. *See also* Buonaparte *and* Bone-a-part.				
71	Bone and Flesh	Knight *inv.*	W.	April 15, 1806	B. M. *
72	Bone of Contention (The) (1)	Anon.	Hd.	May 18, 1803	B. M. *

[1] Inscribed facetiously as 'Designed by the Nurse of the King of Rome.'

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
73	Bone of Contention (The) (2)	A.	F.	June 14, 1803	B. M. *
74	Bone-a-part in a Fresh Place (The) . .	Charles	The Artist	1803	B. M. *
75	Bone-a-part shews the Secret (The) . .	Anon.	Hudson	June 1803	*
76	Boney and his Army in Winter Quarters	A.	W.	March 1807	B. M. *
77	Boney and his Horse Talley	A.	T.	June 14, 1808	B. M. *
78	Boney and his New Subjects at Elba .	Marks	—	June 1814	B. M. *
79	Boney and his New Wife	Anon.	T.	Aug. 16, 1810	*
80	Boney and Maddy gone to Pot . . .	Anon.	F.	June 23, 1814	B. M. *
81	Boney and Talley. *Broadside* . . .	G.	H.	Sept. 1803	B. M. *
82	Boney and Talley patching up a *Piece* .	W.	A.	Aug. 20, 1806	*
83	Boney and the Gay Lads of Paris . .	Anon.	F.	April 1813	B. M. *
84	Boney and the Great State Secretary .	'Argus'	W.	Feb. 1, 1806	B. M. *
85	Boney at Bayonne	A.	T.	Jan. 12, 1808	*
86	Boney at Brussels	I. C.	F.	Aug. 14, 1803	B. M. *
87	Boney at Elba	—	F.	April 20, 1814	B. M. *
88	Boney attacking the English Hives .	I. C.	F.	Nov. 1803	B. M.
89	Boney beating Mack	G. C.	F.	Nov. 19, 1805	B. M. *
—	Boney Bewildered. *See* Political Chess Players.				
90	Boney Boned. (*Cf.* King's Dwarf) . .	West.	Hd.	May 1814	*
91	Boney Bothered	A.	T.	July 9, 1808	B. M. *

92	Boney bringing Home the Truth . . .	Anon.	T.	Sept. 17, 1808	*
—	Boney Broke Loose. *See* Fox and the Goose.				
93	Boney Crossing the Line	Marks	J.	Autumn 1815	B. M. *
—	Boney Dished. *See* Caterers *and* Side Dish.				
94	Boney Forsaken by his Guardian Angel .	Anon.	—	April 3, 1814	B. M.
95	Boney Griped : a German Valentine .	Anon.	—	1814	B. M. *
96	Boney Hatching a Bulletin	G. C.	W. & K.	Dec. 1812	*
97	Boney in a Stew	Marks	K.	July 1815	*
98	Boney in Possession of the Millstone . .	A.	F.	July 5, 1803	B. M. *
—	Boney in the Suds. *See* Allies' Shaving.				
99	Boney in Time for Ld. Mayor's Feast .	Cawse	F.	Nov. 5, 1803	B. M. *
100	Boney or the Castle Spectre	Anon.	Hd.	Dec. 1803	B. M.
—	Boney Playing Base. *See* Hard Passage.				
101	Boney receiving an Account of the Battle of Vittoria	G. C.	K.	July 8, 1813	—
102	Boney returning from Russia	Anon.	F.	Jan. 1, 1813	B. M. *
—	Boney rode over. *See* Return of the Paris Dilligence.				
103	Boney Stark Mad	I. & G. C.	F.	Jan. 1, 1808	*
104	Boney the Second	R.	T.	April 9, 1811	*
105	Boney Tir'd of War's Alarms	G. C.	W. & K.	January 1813	*
106	Boney Tir'd of War's Alarms. *Reverse* .	—	McCleary	Spring 1813	*
107	Boney Turned Moralist	R.	A.	May 1, 1814	*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
—	Boney's Abdication. *See* White Flag.				
108	Boney's Broken Bridge	R.	A.	June 12, 1809	*
—	Boney's Bucket. *See* Which Drowns First.				
109	Boney's Cavalry	Anon.	T.	May 4, 1813	*
110	Boney's Elba Chair	G. C.	K.	May 5, 1814	*
—	Boney's Escape. *See* John Bull in Alarm.				
111	Boney's Fate	'C. W.'	J.	Mar. 20, 1815	*
112	Boney's Inquisition	A.	F.	Oct. 25, 1804	B. M. *
113	Boney's Journey to London	A.	F.	Nov. 28, 1803	B. M. *
—	Boney's Last Batch. *See* Oven.				
—	Boney's Last Shuffle. *See* Game at Cribbage.				
114	Boney's Meditations on the Island of St. Helena	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	August 1815	*
115	Boney's Reception	Anon.	R.	Autumn 1803	*
116	Boney's Return from Elba . . . . . *And see* Devil to Pay.	G.C. *sc.*; G.H. *inv.*	H.	Mar. 21, 1815	B. M. *
117	Boney's Return to Paris. *Broadside* .	Anon.	Batchelor	April 1815	*
118	Boney's Threatened Invasion	G. C.	F.	Sept. 10, 1815	B. M. *
119	Boney's Trial, Sentence, and Dying Speech	R.	A.	July 28, 1815	*

—	Boney's Triumphal Entry. *See* Arch Design.				
—	Boney's Visions. *See* Little Man's; *and cf.* No. 122. *And see* Bony *and* Little Boney.				
—	Bonfire at Thorpe Hall. *See* Execution.				
—	Bonfire at Yarmouth. *See* Front View.				
120	Bonne Farte rousing a Southerly Wind .	Anon.	F.	Feb. 20, 1798	B. M. *
121	Bony at a Stand	Mitchell *inv.*	R.	Autumn 1803	*
122	§Bony's Visions	'Car[ist] Gen[l]'	Tipper	Sept. 1, 1811	*
123	‡Boxiana, or the Fancy	Anon.	Jones	Oct. 1, 1815	*
124	‖Bridge of Lodi	G. C.	T.	Nov. 28, 1814	*
125	Britannia and the Seven Champions . .	G. C.	Martin	Summer 1814	—
126	†Britannia between Death and the Doctors	G.	H.	May 20, 1804	B. M. *
127	Britannia blowing up the Corsican, &c. .	I. C.	A.	Aug. 17, 1803	B. M. *
128	Britannia correcting an Unruly Boy . .	West	F.	June 13, 1803	B. M. *
129	Britannia in Tribulation	A.	—	August 1807	—
130	Britannia repremanding a Naughty Boy	Anon.	Hd.	May 3, 1803	B. M.
131	Britannia weighing the Fate of Europe	—	Hd.	Dec. 1803	*
—	Britannicus. *See* Napoleon and the Nile				
132	British Atlas (The)	Anon.	Sidebotham	1818	*
133	British Chymist analizing (A)	West	Hd.	July 1803	B. M.
134	‡British Cookery (*cf.* Boney in a Stew) .	Anon.	Jones	May 1, 1811	*
135	British Men-of-War towing the Invader's Fleet	Anon.	—	Sept. 25, 1804	—

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
136	British Tars towing the Danish Fleet .	G.	H.	Oct. 1, 1807	B. M. *
137	British Welcome	Anon.	Hd.	Sept. 1812	B. M.
138	Brobdignags of Bayonne	W.	T.	Aug. 3, 1808	B. M. *
139	Brobdingnag Watchman (The) . . .	West	Hd.	Dec. 1803	B. M.
140	Broken Bridge (The) (*cf.* No. 108) . .	A.	W.	June 1809	B. M.
141	Broken Gingerbread	G.C.; G.H. *inv.*	H.	April 21, 1814	*
142	Brother Joe between Two Firis (*sic*) .	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	Sept. 25, 1808	*
143	Bruin becomes Mediator	I. C.	Williamson	June 4, 1803	B. M. *
144	Budget (The)	—	F.	Nov. 20, 1796	*
	Bulky and Boney. *See* National Contrasts.				
145	Bull and the Bantam (The)	W.	Hd.	July 1803	B. M. *
146	Bull and the Bantam (The). *Reverse* .	—	McCleary	Autumn 1803	*
	See also Mr. *and* Mrs. Bull.				
—	Bullock's Museum. *See* Exhibition; Coach; *and* Scene at the London Museum.				
147	Bungling Tinkers! (The). *Broadside* .	G. C.	Fairburn	March 1815	*
148	Buonaparte (snake-girt on horseback: *cf.* Nos. 6 and 893)	Heath	A.	Mar. 6, 1814	B. M. *
149	¶Buonaparte, Ambition and Death . .	G. C.	Hughes	Jan. 1, 1814	—
150	Buonaparte and Abraham Newland	Roberts	Hd.		

151	Buonaparte and his Old Friend . .	W.	T.	Nov. 15, 1808	B. M.
152	Buonaparte at Rome	I. C.	F.	Mar. 12, 1797	B. M. *
153	Buonaparte 48 Hours after Landing . .	G.	H.	July 26, 1803	B. M. *
154	Buonaparte hearing of Nelson's Victory .	G.	H.	Dec. 8, 1798	B. M. *
155	Buonaparte in Egypt	A.	F.	Oct. 20, 1798	B. M. *
156	Buonaparte in Egypt. *Broadside* . .	Anon.	—	Summer 1803	B. M.
157	Buonaparte leaving Egypt	G.	H.	Mar. 8, 1800	*
158	Buonaparte on his Ass	Anon.	Bate	Sept. 14, 1803	B. M.
159	Buonaparte on the 17th of June, &c. . .	G. C.	K.	August 1815	*
160	Buonaparté Pie	W.	Hd.	Nov. 1803	*
161	Buonaparte taken in Tow [1]	Anon.	Ker	1807	*
162	Buonaparte's Answer to Ben Block. *Br.*	W. *del.* ; I. C. *sc.*	Allen	Sept. 6, 1803	*
163	Buonaparte's Answer to John Bull. *Br.*	Anon.	—	Autumn 1803	B. M.
—	Buonaparte's Attack upon Ibrahim. *See* Mamlouk.				
164	Buonaparte's Dance of Death (6 pictures)	Anon.	Ziegler	Nov. 1799	*
165	Buonaparte's *Mal*-Maison at St. Helena	Hassell	H.	July 12, 1821	*
166	Buonaparte's Soliloquy at Calais . . .	W. *del.* ; I. C. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 21, 1803	B. M. *
167	Burglary and Robbery. *Broadside.* .	Anon.	—	July 27. 1808	—
168	Burning of Moscow	G. C.	T.	Jan. 23, 1815	*
169	Burning the Mosques	G. C.	T.	Dec. 4, 1814	*
	C.				
—	Caporal. *See* Corporal (4).				
170	Caterers, Boney Dish'd	—	K.	Nov. 10, 1813	B. M. *

[1] Frontispiece to *Jack Junk's New Jester.*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
171	Catholic Petitioners (The)	—	F.	May 27, 1805	*
172	Centinel at his Post (The)	A.	F.	Oct. 22, 1803	B. M. *
173	Change for a Sovereign	Anon.	—	Autumn 1815	*
174	Characterestic (*sic*) Design for the Arms	E. F. S. Reader	A.	Mar. 10, 1807	B. M. *
—	Check String. *See* Gulliver and his Guide.				
175	Check to Corsican Assurance (A) . . .	—	F.	Nov. 20, 1805	*
176	†Child & Champion of Jacobinism (The) .	A.	F.	Oct. 26, 1801	B. M. *
177	Child's Instructor (The) (Alphabet) . .	Anon.	Lumsden	1805	*
178	Chips of the Block	I. C.	F.	Sept. 26, 1803	*
—	Choak-pear. *See* Bone-a-part shews.				
179	— ci-devant Occupations [1]	G.	H.	Feb. 20, 1805	B. M. *
180	Coach that Nap ran from (The) . . .	Brooke	Williams	Jan. 1, 1816	*
181	Cock and Bull Story (A)	W.	R.	Autumn 1803	B. M. *
182	Coffin Expedition (The)	A.	F.	Jan. 6, 1804	*
183	Cold-Blooded Murderer (The)	A.	F.	June 2, 1804	B. M. *
184	Colonel Cinque-Ports Drilling	—	F.	Dec. 9, 1803	*
185	Comforts of a Bed of Roses	G.	H.	April 21, 1806	B. M. *
186	Coming in at the Death (*cf.* No. 261) .	R.	A.	April 12, 1814	—
187	Coming to the Point	G. C.	J.	July 1809	—
188	§Comparative Anatomy	G. C.	Tipper	Nov. 1, 1813	*
189	Complements and Congées	G. C.	J.	July 24, 1815	B. M. *

190	§Confessional (The)	Satirist *inv.*	Tipper	Sept. 1, 1812	*
191	Congratulation à la Francois (*sic*) . . .	Anon.	J.	Dec. 1810	—
192	Congress Disolved (*sic*) (The)	G. C.	F.	April 6, 1815	B. M. *
193	§Congress for Peace (A)	Brooke	Tipper	Sept. 1, 1813	*
194	Conscripts à la Buonaparte	Anon.	Cox & Baylis	March 1807	*
195	Consequence of Invasion (The) . . .	A.	F.	Aug. 1, 1803	B. M. *
196	Consequences of . . . Invasion (4 Plates)	G.; Dalrymple *inv*	The Artist	Mar. 1, 1798	*
197	Consul and a Consultation (A)	Anon.	A.	May 26, 1803	*
198	Consular Attempt at a Crown (A) (*French source*)	Mérou	—	May 24, 1803	*
199	Consular Family on their Last Journey (The)	R.	A.	June 12, 1804	*
200	Consular Games (1, Brag ; 2, Hazard) .	W. ; Roberts *sc.*	R.	Autumn 1803	*
201	Consular Toy (The)	Anon.	Hookham	Spring 1801	B. M.
202	Consular Warehouse (The)	Cawse	Hd.	May 20, 1802	B. M.
203	Continental Dock-Yard (The)	W.	T.	Nov. 27, 1807	B. M. *
204	Continential (*sic*) Scare-Crow (The) . .	Anon.	Hd.	Sept. 1804	*
205	Continental Shaveing Shop (The) . . .	'Argus'	W.	Sept. 1806	B. M. *
—	Contrast (The). *See* French . . . Villainy.				
206	Convention of Cintra (The) (7 pictures)	W.	T.	Feb. 3, 1809	*
207	Cool Summer Quarters	G. C.	K.	Oct. 2, 1813	—
208	Copy of Verses (A). (*Bellman's Broadside*)	Anon.	Reynell	Christmas 1813	*
—	Coronation. *See* Grand Coronation ; Imperial Coronation ; *and* Procession.				

[1] First half of title, 'Buonaparte . . iny,' erased on plate.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
209	Corporal Violette (1): Puzzle portrait .	Anon.	Smith	Spring 1815	*
210	Corporal Violette (2): Do. .	Anon.	Wallace	Spring 1815	*
211	Corporal Violette (3): Do. .	Radcliffe	Pratt	Spring 1815	*
212	Corporal Violette (4): Do. . *See also* Peddigree of; *and* Imperial.	Anon.	Smeeton	Spring 1815	B. M.
213	Corsican and his Blood Hounds (The) .	R.	A.	April 16, 1815	*
214	Corsican Ass in the Lion's Skin (The) .	—	Hd.	Nov. 1803	*
215	Corsican Bajazet in London (The) . .	I. C.	Hd.	August 1803	* 1
216	Corsican Beggar rideing to the Devil (The)	A.	K.	June 15, 1803	B. M. *
217	Corsican Blood Hound Beset (The) . .	Elmes	T.	Mar. 7, 1813	*
—	Corsican Blood Hound. *See also* Blucher the Brave *and* English Bull Dog.				
—	Corsican Carcase-Butcher (The). *See* Boney and Talley.				
218	Corsican Cesar (The)	W.	Hd.	Dec. 1803	*
219	Corsican Chicken-Butcher (The) . . .	Anon.	Hd.	April 1804	B. M.
220	Corsican Conjurer (The)	Anon.	R.	Autumn 1802	B. M.
221	Corsican Crocodile (The)	Anon.	Hd.	Nov. 1799	B. M.
222	Corsican Cuckoo (The)	I. C.	Williamson	July 26, 1804	B. M. *
223	Corsican Drover (The). *Broadside* . .	Anon.	Pitts	April 1815	*
—	Corsican Foot Ball. *See* Russian Amuse-				

—	Corsican Fox. *See* Death of the; *and* Coming in.				
224	Corsican Locust (The)	West	Hd.	Sept. 1803 [2]	B. M. *
225	Corsican MacHeath (The)	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 16, 1803	B. M. *
226	Corsican Mad Dog (The)	Anon.	F.	Nov. 16, 1813	B. M. *
—	Corsican Matador. *See* Spanish Bull Fight.				
—	Corsican Monkey. *See* Cruce Dignus; John Bull shewing; *and* Pidcock's .				
227	Corsican Moth (The)	W.	Hd.	Aug. 22, 1803	B. M.
228	Corsican Munchausen (The)	R.	A.	Dec. 4, 1813	*
229	Corsican Nurse (The)	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	July 12, 1808	*
230	†Corsican Pest (The). *Broadside* . . .	G.	H.	Oct. 6, 1803	B. M. *
231	Corsican Relatives at the Court . . .	Cawse	Hd.	June 1804	*
232	Corsican Rope Dancer (The)	W.	T.	June 6, 1808	*
233	Corsican Shuttlecock (The)	G. C.	K.	April 10, 1814	*
234	Corsican Spider in his Web (The) . . .	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	July 12, 1808	*
235	Corsican Tiger at Bay (The)	R.	A.	July 8, 1808	*
236	Corsican Tiger at Bay (The) (*Spanish Edition*)	R.	A.	July 8, 1808	*
237	Corsican Toad under a Harrow (The) . .	R.	A.	Nov. 27, 1813	*
238	Corsican Usurper's . . . Arms (The) . .	A.	F.	Dec. 20, 1804	B. M. *

[1] Original pen-and-ink sketch for the etcher, with line of publication added. The print figures in the Latta Collection.
[2] Republished May 1, 1814.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
239	Corsican Whipping-Top in full Spin (The)	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	April 11, 1814	*
240	Corsican's Last Trip (The)	G. C.	H.	April 16, 1815	B. M. *
241	Cossack Extinguisher (The)	Elmes	T.	Nov. 10, 1813	*
242	Cossack Sports	Elmes	T.	Nov. 9, 1813	B. M. *
243	Cossacks flying to annoy	Anon.	K.	Jan. 1, 1813	*
244	Cossacks returning from the Field . . .	Anon.	K.	Feb. 14, 1813	*
245	‖Council of Five Hundred	G. C.	T.	Dec. 13, 1814	*
246	Count Vicenza on his Travels	Anon.	—	End 1812	*
247	Crazy Paul. *Broadside*	I. C.	Hd.	Feb. 5, 1801	*
248	Cream of the Joke (The)	Anon.	F.	May 2, 1814	B. M. *
249	Crocodile's Tears. *Broadside* . . . . (*Cf.* Sorrows of Boney (1) *and* (2)).	Anon.	Wallis	Autumn 1803	B. M.
250	Cross Examination	A.	F.	Feb. 8, 1802	B. M. *
251	‖Crossing the Alps	G. C.	T.	Dec. 7, 1814	*
252	Crown and Anchor Desperado (The) . .	I. C.	F.	Aug. 8, 1803	*
253	Crown and Anchor Meeting (The) . . .	'R. T.'	—	Spring 1797	*
254	Crown Candidates (The) (*French source*)	S. T. Taw	The Artist	May 1815	B. M. *
255	‖Crowning Himself Emperor of France .	G. C.	T.	Dec. 13, 1814	*
256	Cruce Dignus: the Grand Menagerie. *Broadside*	Lee	Asperne	May 1814	*

257	Daw Stript of his Borrowed Plumes (The)	Anon.	K.	Nov. 10, 1813	B. M.
258	Death and Buonaparte (Variant of No. 854)	R.	A.	Jan. 1, 1814	—
259	Death of Boney by Sir Wm. Biscuit (The)	'H. M. *inv.*'	F.	Aug. 14, 1809	B. M. *
260	Death of Madame Republique (The)	R.	A.	Dec. 14, 1804	*
261	Death of the Corsican Fox (The) (1)	G.	H.	July 20, 1803	B. M. *
262	Death of the Corsican Fox (The) (2)	—	McCleary	Summer 1815	*
263	Delicate Finish to a French Usurper (A)	Nixon *del.*; R. *sc.*	Asperne	April 20, 1814	*
264	Delicious Dreams, Castles in the Air, &c.	G.	H.	April 10, 1808	B. M. *
265	Delusion, a New Farce	G. C.	K.	Dec. 8, 1813	*
266	Democracy (8 pictures)	G.	H.	May 12, 1800	B. M. *
267	Departure from the Coast	R.	A.	Oct. 1, 1805	—
268	Departure of Apollo and the Muses (The)	G. C. *sc.*	Sidebotham	Summer 1814	—
269	Deputeys apointed (*sic*) . . . doing Homage	—	T.	Aug. 20, 1811	B. M.
270	Design for an Imperial Crown	West	Hd.	Sept. 1804	B. M.
271	†Destruction of the French Gunboats	G.	H.	Nov. 22, 1803	B. M. *
—	Devil addressing the Sun. *See* Boney's Meditations.				
—	Devil amongst the Tailors. *See* Boney's Return.				
272	Devil and his Protégée (The)	Anon.	T.	June 1810	*
273	Devil to Pay (The)	Marks	—	April 1815	B. M. *
274	Devil won't take him (The)	Anon.	Williamson	Summer 1803	B. M. *
275	Devils amongst the Flats	Anon.	W. & K.	Sept. 1811	B. M. *

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
276	Devil's Darling (The) (*German source*) .	R.	A.	Mar. 12, 1814	*
277	Dialogue between an Englishman and Buonaparte on the Present Times. *Br.*	G. C.	Harrild	Spring 1814	—
278	Dialogue between John Stump, &c. *Br.*	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	Allen	Sept. 12, 1803	Brothers
279	Dialogue between Mrs. Bull, &c. *Br.* .	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	Allen	July 18, 1803	*
—	Dialogue ; *and see* King Naughty.				
280	Diplomatic Dispatches	Anon.	F.	Sept. 1806	*
281	'Directory receiving bad news' (The) (Title Cut)	I. C.	? F	Nov. 1798	*
282	Disapointed (*sic*) King of Spain (The) .	I. & G. C.	A.	July 19, 1808	*
283	Disciples catching the Mantle	G.	H.	June 25, 1808	*
284	§Diversions of Purley	'T. Scrutiny'	Tipper	April 1, 1808	*
285	Doctor Boney bringing the Powers to Pot	A.	W.	March 1808	B. M. *
286	Doctor Sangrado curing John Bull . .	G.	H.	May 2, 1803	B. M. *
287	Dons Outwitted (The)	—	F.	Nov. 1, 1804	*
288	Double Humbug (The)	R.	A.	Jan. 1, 1814	*
289	¶Downfall of Tyranny (The) . . . . . *And see* Modern Prometheus *and* Allies entering Paris.	G. C.	Hughes	May 1, 1814	—
290	Dreams of Terror	I. R. & G. C.	Sidebotham	Spring 1816	—
291	Drumming out of the French Army[1] .	—	Hd	June 1814	B. M. *

	(The)	R.	T.	April 27, 1810	*
293	†Dutch Embarkation	Anon.	Hd.	January 1804	B. M. *
294	Dutch in an Uproar (The)	I. C.	F.	Oct. 15, 1797	*
295	Dutch Nightmare	R.	A.	Nov. 29, 1813	*
	E.				
296	Easier to Say than to Do	I. C.	Hd.	April 14, 1803	B. M.
297	§Effects of the Arrival of French Eagles	Anon.	Tipper	Oct. 1, 1812	*
298	Egyptian Sketches	G.	H.	Mar. 12, 1799	*
299	Elba Flag	G. C.; T. H. *inv.*	H.	April 30, 1815	*
300	Elbaronian Emperor (The)	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	April 23, 1814	*
301	Emperor Boney escaping from Leipsic (The)	G. C.	K.	Nov. 8, 1813	—
302	Emperor of the *Gulls* (The)	A.	F.	May 28, 1804	B. M. *
303	Empire à Vendre (Un) (*French source*)	Anon.	F.	Dec. 9, 1813	B. M. *
304	Enfant Trouvé (L')	G.	H.	May 19, 1808	*
305	England Invaded	R.	A.	Mar. 16, 1798	*
306	English Bull Dog and a Corsican Blood Hound (An)	Roberts *sc.*	R.[2]	August 1803	B. M. *
307	English Lamb * * * and the French Tiger (The)	A.	F.	April 1806	B. M. *
308	English Patriots bowing at the Shrine	I. C.	F.	Nov. 8, 1802	B. M. *
309	Enigmatical Design of the Situation	Lehmann	Palser	April 8, 1814	B. M.
310	Entrance into Poland (The)	G. S.	W.	January 1807	B. M. *

[1] *Cf.* No. 667.

[2] Republished by Tegg in 1815.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
311	Epitaph (The). *Broadside*	Anon.	Hatchard	Nov. 1803	*
312	Eruption of Mount Vesuvius (An) [1] . .	G. C.	H.	June 17, 1815	*
313	Escape of Buonaparte from Elba. *Br.* .	G. C.	Smeeton	March 1815	*
314	Escape of Buonaparte from Elba. *Rev.*	—	McCleary	Spring 1815	*
315	Europe, by Timothy Lash'Em	Anon.	—	April 11, 1814	B. M.
—	Europe ; *and see* Map of.				
316	European Pantomime (The)	Marks	—	March 1815	B. M. *
317	Evacuation of Hanover (The)	Anon.	F.	May 1806	*
318	Evacuation of Malta (The)	G.	H.	Feb. 9, 1803	*
319	Execution of Two Celebrated Enemies .	R.	A.	Nov. 27, 1813	*
320	Ex-Emperor in a Bottle (The)	Anon.	Jenkins	Aug. 25, 1815	*
321	Exhibition at Bullock's Museum . . .	R.	A.	Jan. 10, 1816	*
322	Exile (The) : (*from life at Longwood*) . .	Anon.	Cribb	July 20, 1820	*
323	Exile of St. Helena (The) (*Original Sketch*)	Anon.	—	1816	*
324	Exile of St. Helena (The)	Marks	Pratt	August 1815	B. M.
325	Exit Liberté à la Francois (*sic*)	G.	H.	Nov. 21, 1799	B. M. *
326	Expédition à la Lune (*Original Sketch*) [2].	I. C.	—	1803	*
327	Experiment with a Burning Glass (An) .	—	Bate	Sept. 15, 1803	*
328	Experiments at Dover	R.	The Artist	July 21, 1806	—
329	Explanation of the Arms and Supporters of Napoleon Bonaparte [3]	Anon.	Vogel	1808–9	B. M. *
330	Explanation of the Arms of Napoleon [4] .	Anon.		May 1814	*

332	Extraordinary News (2 pictures) . . .	Anon.	W.	Sept. 1808	*
	F.				
333	Fable of the Bundle of Faggots (The) .	Anon.	Atkinson	Sept. 20, 1803	B. M.
334	Fandango as Danced by enslaved Nations	Anon.	Williamson	? 1804	*
335	Fast Colours: Patience on a Monument .	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	Hone	Oct. 26, 1815	B. M. *
336	Father of the Fameily takeing (*sic*) his eldest Boy from School	Anon.	T.	Spring 1814	*
337	Female Meeting on the Subject of Invasion (A). *Broadside*	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	Allen	Autumn 1803	Brothers
338	Feminine Contributions (*French source*) .	Anon.	—	1798	*
339	Fighting for the Dunghill	G.	H.	Nov. 20, 1798	B. M. *
340	Final Pacification of Europe (The) . .	Anon.	Hd.	June 1803	B. M.
341	First Exploit of Boney the Second (The)	G. C.	J.	April 1811	*
—	First Glorious Exploit. *See* Devils.				
342	First Interview with Maria Louisa . . .	G. C.	T.	Dec. 14, 1814	*
343	†First Kiss this Ten Years! (The) . . .	G.	H.	Jan. 1, 1803	*
344	First Night of my Wedding (The) . . .	Anon.	T.	April 25, 1810	*
345	Five Heads [5]	'D. I.'	Hassell	May 1, 1817	*
346	Flags of Truth and Lies	R.	A.	July 10, 1803	*

[1] There are three states of this plate, lettered before, during, and after Waterloo.
[2] Unfinished. Done on back of 'The Old Fable of the Frog and the Ox,' *q.v.*
[3] Adaptation and elaboration down to date of No. 174.
[4] Same plate as foregoing; second state: dexter supporter changed, &c.
[5] This is Capt. R. J. H. Douglas' *No. 736* 'Portrait of Napoleon Buonaparte and Four of his Suite.' Reid ascribes it to George Cruikshank, who may possibly have etched it. It is signed 'D. I.,' for Denzil Ibbetson. *Cf.* Nos. 602, 604, and 881–4.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
347	Flight from Egypt	G. C.	T.	Dec. 14, 1814	*
348	Flight of Bonaparte from Hell Bay (The)	R.	A.	April 7, 1815	*
349	Flight of Joseph Buonaparte (fr. Vittoria)	G. C.	—	Autumn 1813	*
350	Flogging a Naughty Boy	Anon.	—	Summer 1815	B. M.
351	Flushing Phantasmagoria (The)	Heath	W.	Sept. 1809	*
352	Foreign Amusements	Anon.	F.	Jan. 1, 1801	*
353	Fox and the Goose (The)	G. C.; P. H. *inv.*	L. & W.	Mar. 17, 1815	*
354	Fox and the Grapes (The).	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Sept 15, 1808	*
—	France to Elba. *See* Front View.				
355	Fraternal Embrace (A)	Rainsford *inv.*	Williamson	May 27, 1803	*
—	Fraternal Hug. *See* Dutch Nightmare.				
356	Fraternization in Grand Cairo	R.	A.	Oct. 9, 1798	*
357	French Alarmist (A)	West	Hd.	March 1804	—
—	French Alexander (The). *See* Phantasmagorie.				
358	French alias Corsican Villainy	A.	F.	Jan. 13, 1804	B. M. *
359	French Bugabo (The)	I. C.	F.	April 14, 1797	B. M. *
	And see Stratagem.				
360	French Conscripts for . . . 1820, &c. .	G. C.	K.	Mar. 13, 1813	—
361	French Conscripts for . . . 1820, &c. *Reverse*	—	McCleary	Spring 1813	*
362	French Consular Triumvirate (The)				

364	French Generals Retiring	G.	H.	June 20, 1799	—
365	French Generals Retreating	G. C.	H.	May 30, 1813	*
366	†French Invasion, or Buonaparte Landing	G.	H.	June 10, 1803	B. M. *
367	French Liberty . . . XVIIIth Century .	Anon.	Hd.	Dec. 4, 1799	B. M.
368	French Post Extraordinary from Moscow [1]	G. C. *sc.*	H.	Mar. 26, 1813	B. M. *
369	French Recruits [2]	G. C.	J.	Nov. 1, 1813	—
370	French Volunteers Marching	'C. L. S.'; G. *sc.*	H.	Oct. 25, 1803	*
371	Frenchman's Dream (The) [3]	Anon.	Vernor	Spring 1804	*
372	Friendly Visit (A)	R.	T.	April 16, 1814	*
373	Friends and Foes: Up he Goes! . . .	R.	A.	Dec. 12, 1813	*
—	Frog and the Ox. *See* Old Fable *and* Emperor of the Gulls.				
374	From the Desk to the Throne	G. S. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Aug. 18, 1808	*
375	Front View of the Bonfire . . . Yarmouth	Cotman	Keymer	Spring 1814	*
376	Full and particular Account of the Trial of Napoleon Buonaparte (A). *Broadside Cf.* Boney's Trial.	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 14, 1803	B. M. *
377	Funeral Procession of Buonaparte (The)	W.	Hd.	Oct. 27, 1803	*
378	Funcking the Corsican	R.	A.	Dec. 6, 1813	*
	G.				
379	Gallic Idol (A)	Boyne; Barth *sc.*	Cribb	Aug. 20, 1803	B. M. *
380	Gallic Magi (The)	Elmes	T.	Sept. 24, 1811	B. M. *
381	§Gambling in the Stocks	G. C.	Tipper	April 1, 1814	*

[1] Copied from Russian Print.

[2] From *Town Talk*.

[3] From the *Anti-Gallican*.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
382	†Game at Chess (A)	A.	F.	Jan. 9, 1802	B. M. *
383	Game at Cribbage (A)	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	June 6, 1814	B. M. *
—	Game of Brag } *See* Consular Games.				
—	Game of Hazard }				
384	Gasconaders: (Russian Campaign Plate No. 6)	Anon.	T.	May 1813	B. M. *
385	Gasconadeing [1]	Anon.	J.	Dec. 1, 1813	B. M. *
386	General Frost shaveing Little Boney . .	Elmes	T.	Dec. 1, 1812	B. M. *
387	General Nap turned . . . Preacher. *Br.* .	G. C.	—	October 1808	B. M. *
388	Général Sans Pareil (*French source*) . .	Anon.	Smeeton	Sept. 1, 1815	B. M. *
389	[Genii of Caricature bringing in fresh Supplies (The)	W.	T.	1809	*]
390	[Genius of Caricature and his Friends (The)	W.	T.	July 2, 1808	*]
391	Genius of France expounding her Laws (The)	G. C. *sc.*	H.	April 4, 1815	*
392	Genius of France nursing her Darling (The)	Bradyll; G. *sc.*	H.	Nov. 26, 1804	B. M. *
393	German Nonchalence	G.	The Artist	Jan. 1, 1803	B. M. *
394	Ghost of Buonaparte appearing, &c. (The). *Cf.* Directory.	I. C.	F.	Jan. 1, 1799	B. M. *

395	Ghosts of the Old Kings of Spain (The) .	A.	W.	July 1808	B. M. *
396	Giant Commerce (The)	W. *del.*; G. C. *sc.*	T.	Jan. 27, 1807	B. M. *
—	Glorious News. *See* Death of Boney.				
397	Glorious Pursuit of Ten (The)	'Argus'	—	Jan. 24, 1805	—
398	God Save ye King!	G.C.; Knight *inv.*	K.	May 17, 1814	*
399	Going to Cut up a Turkey	Anon.	Hd.	April 12, 1802	B. M.
400	Good News for the Grave Diggers . .	I. C.	Williamson	Autumn 1803	*
401	Gourmand (Un)	—	F.	Jan. 10, 1820	*
402	Gout, the King and the Doctors (The) .	G. C.	Harrild	May 1815	—
403	Governor of Europe stoped (*sic*) (The) .	A.	F.	April 16, 1803	B. M. *
404	Governor of . . . Elba (Hierog. Portrait) .	Kay	—	1814	*
405	Grand Bubble (The)	Anon.	—	Jan. 27, 1813	*
406	Grand Consul of the Great Nation (The) .	Cawse	F.	Jan. 30, 1800	B. M. *
407	Grand Coronation Procession (The) . .	G.	H.	Jan. 1, 1805	B. M. *
408	Grand Dignitaries arriving (The) . . .	G. C.	K.	Feb. 1813	*
409	Grand Emperor's Grand Campaign (The) (8 pictures)	Heath	K.	April 18, 1813	B. M. *
410	Grand Manœuvre (A)	G. C.	T.	April 13, 1814	*
411	Grand Triumphal Entry, &c.	A.	F.	Oct. 1, 1803	B. M. *
412	Grasp All, Lose All!	Anon.	T.	Dec. 1, 1813	B. M. *
413	Great General and a Little Emperor (A) [2]	Anon.	K.	May 23, 1814	*
414	Great Man Intoxicated (A)	W.	R.	May 1803	B. M.
415	Great Man made Overseer (A)	I. C.	Williamson	Jan. 20, 1805	*
416	Great Man on his Hobby Horse (A) . .	? R.	—	?May 1804	*
417	Great Unknown, &c. (The)	I. R. C.	Fairburn	July 1827	*
418	Green Spectacles	Anon.	R.	June 1803	B. M.

[1] From *Town Talk*.

[2] Enlarged reproduction of the German print with same title.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENGLISH NAPOLEONIC CARICATURES

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
419	Grim Joey dashing Little Boney . . .	G. C.	—	Spring 1813	*
420	Guess if you Can and Choose if you Dare	'G.'	—	1820	*
421	Gulliver and his Guide	Charles	The Artist	August 1803	B. M. *
422	Gulliver towing the Fleet	I. C.	F.	Oct. 16, 1807	B. M. *
	H.				
423	Handwriting on the Wall (The) . . .	G.	H.	Aug. 24, 1803	B. M. *
—	Hanover. *See* Evacuation.				
424	Happy Dance for Europe (A)	Marks	T.	May 17, 1814	*
425	Hard Passage (A)	G. S. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 24, 1808	*
426	Hard Times (*Douglas, No. 1064*) . . .	G. C.	T.	Feb. 10, 1814	B. M. *
427	Harlequin Invasion	West	Hd.	Aug. 12, 1803	*
428	Harlequin's Last Skip	I. C.	Williamson	Aug. 24, 1804	B. M. *
429	Head of the Family in Good Humour (The)	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	Jan. 15, 1809	*
430	Head of the Great Nation, &c. (The) . .	G. C.	K.	Dec. 1813	*
431	Head Runner of Runaways (*German source*)	R.	A.	March 2, 1814	*
—	Helba. *See* Elba.				
432	Hell Broke Loose	G. C.	F.	Mar. 20, 1815	*
433	Hell Hounds Rallying	R.	A.	April [illegible] 1814	*
—	Hellbaronian. *See* Elba.				

434	Hero's Return (The) (after David's Painting)	G. C. *sc.*	H.	Feb. 22, 1813	B. M. *
435	Hieroglyphic (An)[1]	Mayer	Mayer	1804	B. M. *
—	Hieroglyphic Portrait: 'Triumph of the Year 1813.' *See* Memoirs of Buonaparte; Napoleon Bonaparte; Napoleon, the Corsican Phœnix; Napoleon, the First and Last; Governor of Elba. (*German source. See E. 121*)				
436	High Fun for John Bull	R.	A.	Nov. 12, 1798	*
437	‡High Winds of March (The) (4 pictures) .	G. C.	Jones	April 1, 1815	*
438	High-flying Candidate (The)	G.	H.	Nov. 11, 1806	*
439	Hint for another Statue (A)	I. C.	F.	Jan. 2, 1803	*
440	Hint to the Blind and Foolish (A) . .	G. C.	Fairburn	Mar. 10, 1823	*
441	History of Bonaparté. *Broadside* . .	Anon.	Hatchard	1803	*
442	Holy Alliance Unmasked (The) . . .	Pursel	Dickinson	February 1823	*
443	Honest Private (The)	'Gog-Magog'	K.	Nov. 21, 1803	*
444	Hop Step and Jump	Roberts *sc.*	R.[2]	Jan. 1, 1801	B. M. *
445	Horrid Visions or Nappy Napp'd . . .	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	Aug. 23, 1808	*
446	How to Stop an Invader	I. C.	Williamson	July 28, 1803	B. M.
	I.				
447	Imperial Bomb (An)	Anon.	K.	April 1814	B. M.
448	Imperial Bonne-Bouche (An)	A.	W.	July 1807	*
449	‡Imperial Botany	Anon.	Jones	March 1, 1814	*
450	Imperial Coronation (The)	R.	A.	July 31, 1804	—

[1] From the *Prophetic Mirror.*

[2] Republished by Tegg in 1815.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
—	Imperial Crown. *See* Design for;				
451	Imperial Divorce (The) [1]	'Satira'	Walker	1809	*
452	Imperial Embrace on the Raft (The) . .	A.	W.	July 1807	B. M. *
453	¶Imperial Family going to the Devil (The)	G. C.	Hughes	March 1, 1814	B. M.
454	§Imperial Nursery (The)	Anon.	Tipper	May 1, 1811	*
455	§Imperial Shaving Shop (The)	Brooke	Tipper	Feb. 1, 1813	*
456	§Imperial Tyger Hunt (The)	'Amateur'	Tipper	Dec. 1, 1813	*
457	Imperial Violets (*cf.* Corporal) . . .	Anon.	—	Spring 1815	*
458	Imperial Vomit (An)	Anon.	Hd.	June 4, 1814	B. M. *
459	In Port and Out of Port	W.	T.	Nov. 10, 1807	—
460	§Infant Richard (The)	G. C.	Tipper	Jan. 1, 1814	*
461	Infanterie Française en Egypte (L') . .	G.	H.	Mar. 12, 1799	B. M.
462	Inhabitants of St. Helena addressing their new Governor (The) (*French source*) .	Anon.	McCleary	1816	*
463	Inhabitants of St. Helena alarmed at the appearance, &c. (*French source*) .	Anon.	McCleary	1816	*
464	Injecting Blood Royal	—	Hd.	June 1804	B. M. *
465	Insurrection de l'Institut Amphibie (L') .	G.	H.	Mar. 12, 1799	—
466	Introduction of Citizen Volpone . . .	G.	H.	Nov. 15, 1802	B. M. *
467	Introduction of the Pope (The)	G.	H.	Dec. 1, 1809	B. M. *
468	Invasion: Scene of a Play. *Broadside* .	Anon.	Stockdale	Autumn 1803	*
—	John Bull. *See* John Bull.				

	J.				
469	Jack Frost attacking Bony in Russia .	Elmes	T.	Dec. 1812	B. M. *
470	Jack Frost attacking Bony, &c. *Reverse*	—	McCleary	Spring 1813	*
471	Jack Tars conversing with Boney . . .	A.	W.	Dec. 1806	B. M. *
472	John Bull amongst the Spaniards . . .	Anon.	W.	1808	*
473	John Bull and Bonaparte (1). *Broadside*	W. *del.* ; I. C. *sc.*	A.	Aug. 13, 1803	B. M. *
474	John Bull and Bonaparte (2). *Broadside*	Anon.	—	Summer 1803	B. M.
—	John Bull and his Doctors. *See* National Phrenzy.				
475	John Bull and the Alarmist	G.	H.	Sept. 1, 1803	*
476	§John Bull and the Cossacks	Brooke	Tipper	May 1, 1813	*
477	John Bull Arming	W.	R.	Autumn 1803	*
478	John Bull Arming the Spaniards . . .	R.	A.	Oct. 3, 1808	—
479	†John Bull at the Sign 'The Case is Altered'	Anon.	—	1801	—
480	John Bull bringing Bonaparte to London	W.	Hd.	Aug. 8, 1803	*
481	John Bull bringing Boney's Nose, &c. .	Elmes	T.	Mar. 21, 1814	B. M. *
482	John Bull come to the Bone	Anon.	T.	Jan. 7, 1815	*
483	John Bull exchanging News	W.	F.	Dec. 11, 1805	B. M. *
484	John Bull fighting the French	'B. F. L. B.'	—	May 1803	*
485	John Bull guarding the Toy Shop . .	Cawse	F.	Oct. 29, 1803	B. M. *
486	John Bull in a Dream	W.	Hd.	April 12, 1803	*
487	John Bull in Alarm. *Broadside* . . .	G. C.	Jones	March 1815	*
488	John Bull in Sweden (*Original Sketch*) .	I. C.	—	1801	*

[1] From *Hibernian Magazine*. Etched by 'Brocas'; published at Dublin.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
489	John Bull landed in France	West	Hd.	Aug. 29, 1803	B. M. *
490	†John Bull learning a New Movement .	Anon.	—	1801	*
491	John Bull listening to the Quarrels, &c.	R.	A.	May 1, 1803	*
492	John Bull making a *Capital* Bonfire . .	G. C.	K.	October 1814	*
493	John Bull making Observations . . .	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	Nov. 10, 1807	*
494	John Bull offering . . . Boney fair play .	G.	H.	Aug. 2, 1803	B. M. *
495	John Bull out of all Patience	Roberts *sc.*	Hd.	Aug. 16, 1803	B. M. *
496	John Bull peeping into Brest	W.	R.	Autumn 1803	B. M. *
497	John Bull playing on the Base Villain .	Anon.	T.	Jan. 1, 1807	B. M. *
498	John Bull refreshing the Bear's Memory	I. & G. C.	T.	Dec. 20, 1807	*
499	John Bull shewing the Corsican Monkey	I. C.	A.	Sept. 3, 1803	B. M. *
500	John Bull sounding his Bugle	W.	Hd.	Nov. 1803	Brothers
501	†John Bull taking a Luncheon	G.	H.	Oct. 24, 1798	—
502	John Bull teazed by an Earwig . . .	West	Hd.	April 6, 1803 [1]	B. M. *
503	John Bull threatened by Insects . . .	Anon.	Nichols	April 1806	B. M. *
504	John Bull tipping all Nine	I. C.	Williamson	May 28, 1803	B. M. *
505	John Bull united, Bona in two Parts . .	Cooke	—	Nov. 20, 1803	*
506	John Bull's Anticipation, &c. *Broadside*	Anon.	—	Spring 1804	B. M.
507	John Bull's Patent Medicine	Anon.	—	Aug. 28, 1813	—
508	John Bull's Prayer to Peace	Roberts *sc.*	R.	1801	B. M.
509	Johnny Bull a Cobbler, &c.	Nicholls	—	? 1815	*

510	Johnny Bull giving Boney a Pull . . .	I. C.	A.	Aug. 7, 1803	B. M. *
511	Johnny Bull on the Look Out	Anon.	L. & W.	Sept. 12, 1803	B. M. *
512	Joseph in Jeopardy. *Broadside* . . .	Anon.	Hatchard	Sept. 1808	*
513	Joseph's Flight [2]	Anon.	J.	Oct. 1, 1812	*
514	Jourdan and King Joe	Anon.	—	July 9, 1813	—
515	Junot disgorging his Booty	G. S. *del.* ; R. *sc.*	A.	Oct. 17, 1808	*
516	Jupiter Buoney granting . . . a King . .	Knight *sc.*	W.	June 26, 1806	B. M.
	K.				
517	King Joe & Co. Making the Most of their Time	R.	T.	Sept. 25, 1808	*
518	King Joe disposing of the Spanish Crown	Anon.	T.	Sept. 19, 1808	Brothers
519	King Joe on his Spanish Donkey . . .	W. *del.* ; R. *sc.*	T.	Aug. 27, 1808	—
520	King Joe's Retreat from Madrid . . .	W. *del.* ; R. *sc.*	T.	Aug. 21, 1808	*
521	King Naughty and his Brothers . . .	Anon.	Milleville	1820	*
522	†King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver (The) (1)	Bradyll ; G. *sc.*	H.	June 26, 1803	B. M. *
523	†King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver (The) (2)	Bradyll ; G. *sc.*	H.	Feb. 10, 1804	B. M. *
524	King Richard Burlesqued	G. C.	K.	July 13, 1813	*
525	King's Dwarf plays Gulliver a Trick (The)	A.	F.	Oct. 18, 1803	B. M. *
526	King's Statue at Guildhall (The). *Br.* .	G. C.	Hone	June 1815	—
527	Knock-down Blow (A)	W.	A.	Aug. 24, 1803	*

[1] Plate retouched and republished in the spring of 1813.

[2] From *Town Talk.*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
	L.				
528	‖Landing in Elba	G. C.	T.	Jan. 23, 1815	*
529	Last March of the Conscripts (The) . .	G. C.	F.	April 17, 1814	*
530	Last Step over the Globe (The) . . .	Anon.	Hd.	June 13, 1803	*
531	Last Tubful (The)	Anon.	—	June 20, 1815	—
532	Leap Frog (1)	Raymond	R.	Jan. 1, 1803	B. M.
533	Leap Frog (2)	Anon.	Hd.	Sept. 1804	B. M.
534	Lecture on Heads (A)	—	K.	June 21, 1815	*
535	Legal Mistake (A)	I. C.	F.	April 15, 1798	*
—	'Liberty.' *See* Napoleon with a Python.				
536	Liberty arousing the Continental Powers	Anon.	T.	Aug. 3, 1808	*
537	*Life of Bonaparte* (*The*), Frontispiece to . . . . . *Cf.* Massacre in Egypt.	Anon.	Badcock	1804	*
538	‖*Life of Napoleon* (*The*), Frontispiece to .	G. C.	T.	1814–1815	*
539	*Life of Wm. Cobbett* (*The*) (Plate No. 7) .	G.	H.	Sept. 29, 1809	*
540	Little Boney gone to Pot	G. C.	T.	May 12, 1814	*
541	Little Boney in the Whale's Belly . . .	Anon.	R.	Autumn 1803	B. M. *
542	Little Boney sneaking into Paris . . .	Elmes	T.	Jan. 12, 1813	*
543	Little Man Alarmed (A)	W.	R.	May 1803	B. M. *

544	Little Man's Night Comforts (A) . . .	'Lt. B.'	—	July 14, 1803	*	
545	Little Nap the Great in a Hobble . . .	'T. P.'	W.	August 1808	B. M.	*
546	Little Princess and Gulliver (The) . . .	A.	F.	Oct. 21, 1803	B. M.	*
547	Little Ships	Anon.	R.	Spring 1803	B. M.	*
548	Long Faces at Bayonne	Anon.	W.	August 1808	B. M.	*
549	Long Pull, a Strong Pull, &c. (A) . . .	R.	T.	Nov. 25, 1813	—	
550	Louis XVIII. climbing the Mât de Cocagne (*French source*)	G. C.	Hone	Oct. 5, 1815	*	
551	Loyalist's Alphabet (The)	Bisset	L. & W.	Sept. 3, 1804	*	
552	Lunar Speculations	A.	F.	May 3, 1803	B. M.	*
	M.					
553	Mad Dog, Mad Dog!	Heath	McLean	August 1830	*	
554	Mad Nap breaking the Armistice . . .	Anon.	—	June 1813	B. M.	
555	Madame Bonaparte's Intercession . . .	Nixon	Hd.	Dec. 1, 1803	*	
556	Magical Print of the Destroyer	Anon.	A.	1814	*	
557	Magnanimous Minister (The)	G.	H.	May 2, 1806	B. M.	*
558	Malignant Aspects	A.	T.	Oct. 21, 1807	B. M.	*
—	Malta. *See* Evacuation of.					
559	Mamlouk et Hussard Républicain . . .	G.	H.	Mar. 12, 1799	—	
560	†Maniac Ravings	G.	The Artist	May 24, 1803	B. M.	*
561	Map of Europe [1]	Anon.	—	1814	*	
562	‖Marriage to Josephine	G. C.	T.	Nov. 28, 1814	*	
563	‖Massacre at Toulon	G. C.	T.	Nov. 17, 1814	*	
564	‖Massacre in Egypt	G. C.	T.	Dec. 1, 1814	*	

[1] Formed of grotesque heads of Sovereigns. Double-folio etching; proof before title, signatures, and line of publication.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
565	Master Boney presenting . . . Gunboats .	Anon.	Hd.	Sept. 1803	Brothers
566	Mât de Cocagne (The) [1]	G. C.	Wilson	1816	*
567	Meatey Part, Bone Part	Heath	The Artist	April 5, 1810	*
568	Mechanical Powers	G. C.	Wilson	May 11, 1814	—
569	Memoirs of Buonaparte. *Broadside* [2] . .	Anon.	Smeeton	Spring 1814	B. M. *
570	Memorial of Napoleon	Anon.	Hone	1821	B. M.
571	Men of Bottom	Heath	—	Summer 1806	B. M.
572	†Merry-go-Round in Honor of the Peace (A)	W.; Roberts *sc.*	Hd.	Summer 1802	*
573	Mock Auction	R.	A.	Dec. 25, 1813	*
574	Mock Phœnix (The)	R.	A.	Dec. 10, 1813	*
575	Modern Atlas asking a Favor (The) . .	A.	W.	Sept. 1807	*
576	Modern Hannibal (The)	G. C.	T.	Jan. 16, 1814	*
577	‡Modern Idolatry	Anon.	Jones	April 1, 1814	*
—	Modern Plays. *See* Three and the Duce.				
578	Modern Prometheus (The)	I. R. & G. C.	Martin	Summer 1814	B. M. *
579	Modern Reformers in Council	I.R.C.; G.H. *inv.*	H.	July 3, 1818	*
580	Monkey's Allowance	Anon.	—	Spring 1815	B. M. *
581	Monstrous Stride (A)	I. C.	L. & W.	July 25, 1803	B. M.
582	Monument of Princely Truth and Honour (*Original Sketch*)	G.	—	Sept. 1807	*
583	More than Expected	Anon.	Hd.	Dec. 1803	B. M.

584	More Trophies for Whitehall	G. C.	T.	July 10, 1813	*
585	Mr. and Mrs. Bull giving B. a . . . Treat	West	Hd.	Dec. 1803	B. M.
586	Mr. and Mrs. Bull looking over their Accounts	W. ; Roberts *sc.*	R.	Spring 1802	B. M. *
—	Mrs. Bull and Madam B. *See* Dialogue.				
587	Murat reviewing the Grand Army . .	G. C.	W. & K.	January 1813	—
588	Murat reviewing the Grand Army. *Reverse*	—	McCleary	Spring 1813	*
589	Murder of Desaix	G. C.	T.	Dec. 7, 1814	*
590	Murder of the Duke d'Enghien	G. C.	T.	Dec. 7, 1814	*
591	Mutual Honours at Tilsit	A.	W.	August 1807	B. M. *
592	Mutual Politeness	—	A.	Autumn 1803	*
593	My Ass in a Band Box	Roberts *sc.*	R.	Autumn 1803	B. M. *
	N.				
594	Nap and his Friends in their Glory . .	R.	A.	Oct. 1, 1813	B. M. *
595	Nap and his Partner Joe	R.	T.	Sept. 29, 1808	*
596	Nap dreading his Doleful Doom . . .	R.	T.	April 25, 1814	*
597	Nap dreading his Doleful Doom. *Reverse*	—	McCleary	Autumn 1815	*
598	Nap Nearly Nab'd (Russian C'p'gn, No. 7) *Cf.* Narrow Escape.	Anon.	T.	June 1813	B. M. *
599	Nap Omnipotent (Russian C'p'gn, No. 4)	Anon.	T.	May 1813	B. M.
600	Nap reviewing the Grand Army (Russian Campaign Plate, No. 2)	Anon.	T.	April 1813	B. M.

[1] *Douglas No. 507 ;* variant of No. 550; and *cf.* No. 10.

[2] With hieroglyphic portrait, *q.v.*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
601	Nap's Glorious Return (R. C., No. 8) . .	Anon.	T.	June 1813	B. M. *
602	Napoleon : a Back View	'D. I.' *del.*	—	1816	*
603	Napoleon : a Back View (*Douglas No. 713*)	? G. C. *sc.*	—	1816	—
604	Napoleon : Original Sketch on the *Northumberland*	'D. I.'[1]	—	Aug.–Oct. 1815	*
605	Napoleon : lithograph of foregoing . .	Anon.	—	1816	*
606	Napoleon : Orig. Sk. at St. Helena . .	Anon.	—	? 1818	*
607	Napoleon : Orig. Sk. at St. Helena . .	Anon.	—	1817	*
608	Napoleon : from sketch at St. Helena .	Cpt. Dodgin	—	? 1818	*
609	Napoleon : on horseback. (*Douglas No. 745*) . . . . . *See also* Exile ; Talma ; Three Panels ; Translatable ; Wellington.	G. C.	Hone	1817	—
610	Napoleon and Alexander on the Raft .	G. C.	T.	Dec. 14, 1814	*
611	Napoleon and his Brother giving a Toast N. and Four of his Suite. *See* Five Heads.	? W.	—	1806	—
612	'Napoleon and the Nile.' (Frontispiece to *Britannicus to Buonaparte*) . . .	Tresham *inv.*; G. *sc.*	Hatchard	Nov. 1, 1803	*
613	'Napoleon and the Nile' : the original sketch retouched	Tresham	—	Spring 1806	*

614	‖Napoleon blowing up his Comrades . .	G. C.	T.	Nov. 10, 1814	*
615	Napoleon Bonaparte as overcome, &c. (hieroglyphic portrait)	Anon.	Orme	Feb. 14, 1814	*
616	Napoleon Bonaparte, Chef de Brigands .	Anon.	Baldwyn	Dec. 1813	B. M. *
617	Napoleon Bonaparte's Grecian Cottage .	—	Elmes	May 6, 1816	*
618	¶Napoleon Bounaparte (*sic*)	G. C.	Hughes	July 1, 1814	—
619	Napoleon Buonaparte in a Fever, &c. .	R.	A.	Nov. 13, 1805	*
620	Napoleon Buonaparte on . . . St. Helena	Peake *sc.*	Richardson	1817	*
621	‖Napoleon Dreaming in his Cell	G. C.	T.	Nov. 10, 1814	*
622	Napoleon Ladder (The)	Anon.	Cozens	1821	*
623	Napoléon le Grande (*sic*) [2]	R.	A.	Dec. 2, 1813	B. M. *
624	'Napoleon shown the World by an Angel'	Dighton	Colburn	Feb. 7, 1827	*
625	Napoleon the Corsican Phœnix (hieroglyphic portrait)	Anon.	Fairburn	May 1815	B. M. *
626	Napoleon, the First and Last (hierog. pt.)	R.	A.	April 1814	B. M. *
627	Napoleon the Little in a Rage, &c. . .	R.	A.	Sept. 20, 1808	*
628	Napoleon with a Python around him [3] .	? R.	—	1814	*
629	‖Napoleon working the Gun	G. C.	T.	Nov. 17, 1814	*
630	Napoleon's Apotheosis Anticipated . .	W.	T.	Sept. 15, 1805	B. M. *
631	Napoleon's Dance in Holland	Anon.	Hd.	Jan. 1, 1814	B. M.

[1] Denzil Ibbetson, Commissary at St. Helena. The sketch bears the attestation of Theodore Hook.

[2] Pictorial and verbal parody of the symbolical print designed and painted by L. Dabos, and drawn by Alex. Tardieu, and entered at the Imperial Library.

[3] Detail of original sketch in water-colours for an emblematical transparency, unsigned and without title.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENGLISH NAPOLEONIC CARICATURES

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
632	Napoleon's Fame (*copied from Russian*) .	G. C. *sc.*	H.	May 18, 1813	*
633	‡Napoleon's Trip from Elba, &c. . . .	G. C.	Jones	Sept. 1, 1815	*
—	Nappy Napp'd. *See* Horrid Visions.				
634	Narrow Escape (The)	G. C.	K.	January 1813	B. M. *
635	Narrow Escape (The). *Reverse* . . .	—	McCleary	Spring 1813	*
	Cf. Nap Nearly Nab'd; Pursued by Cossacks; *and* Grand Emperor's.				
636	National Contrasts	W. *del.*; 'W.S.' *sc.*	W.	October 1807	*
637	National Contrasts, or Bulky and Boney	Roberts *sc.*	R.	1804	*
638	National Institute's First Interview (The)	W.	R.	March 1802	B. M.
639	National Opinions on Bononaparte (*sic*) .	W.; 'C. W.' *sc.*	T.	April 10, 1808	*
640	¶National Phrenzy	G. C.	Hughes	Dec. 1, 1813	*
641	Naumacia (*sic*) (The)	R.	T.	July 23, 1814	*
642	Needs must when Wellington Drives . .	Marks	K.	May 1814	B. M.
643	Negotiation See-saw	Roberts *sc.*	R.	Sept. 1801	B. M.
644	†Nelson's Victory, or Good News, &c. . .	G.	H.	Oct. 3, 1798	*
645	New Bellman's Verses	Anon.	Hd.	Dec. 1803	B. M. *
646	New Consular Waltz (The)	I. C.	Williamson	May 29, 1803	B. M. *
	Cf. Friends and Foes.				
647	New Dynasty (The)	G.	H.	June 25, 1807	B. M. *
648	New French Phantasmagoria (A) . . .	R.	—	May 1804	*

649	New Method of Bear-Baiting (The) . .	I. C.	F.	Dec. 28, 1807	B. M. *
650	New Morality (*from Anti-Jacobin*) . .	G.	Wright	Aug. 1, 1798	*
651	New Phantasmagoria for John Bull (A) .	W.	A.	Feb. 1, 1805	B. M. *
—	New Planetary System. *See* Malignant.				
652	New Threats from Boney's Old Friend. *Br.*	Charles	The Artist	1804	Brothers
—	New Throne. *See* Boney's Elba Chair.				
653	New Way to enforce an Argument (A) .	G. C. ; G. H. *inv.*	H.	May 3, 1815	*
654	News from Calabria	G.	H.	Sept. 13, 1806	B. M. *
655	‡Nic alias Nap's March to Elba	Anon.	Jones	May 1, 1814	*
656	Nick Frog's Lamentation	Anon.	Hd.	March 1804	Brothers
657	Noble Spaniards (The)	G. C.	F.	July 20, 1808	*
658	Noble Spaniards (The). *Reverse* . . .	—	McCleary	Summer 1808	*
659	Norwich Bull Feast (The)	R.	T.	Nov. 22, 1813	—
660	Notice to Quit	R	T.	Nov. 1, 1808	—
661	†Nursery (The)	G.	H.	Dec. 4, 1802	*
662	‖Nursing the King of Rome	G. C.	T.	Dec. 14, 1814	*
663	Nursing the Spawn of a Tyrant . . .	R.	T.	April 14, 1811	*
	O.				
664	Oak and the Mushroom (The)	Roberts *sc.*	R.	May 1803	B. M. *
665	Oath of Allegiance, &c. (The)	Elmes	T.	Jan. 12, 1813	B. M. *
666	Observations upon Stilts	Anon.	R.	Aug. 12, 1803	B. M. *
667	Old Blucher beating the Corsican big drum	G. C.	F.	April 8, 1814	*
668	Old Bumblehead the 18th	G. C.	Fairburn	Feb. 17, 1823	*
669	Old Fable of the Frog and the Ox (The) (*Original Sketch*)	I. C.	—	Summer 1803	*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
670	Old Performer (An)	Anon.	F.	Sept. 22, 1803	*
671	Olympic Games	I. C.	F.	June 16, 1803	B. M. *
672	Only Death Bonaparte ever lamented (The)	Parry	The Artist	May 15, 1813	*
673	Opposition and Ministerial Vision (*Original Sketch*)	I. C.	[Hd.]	[May 1804]	*
674	¶Orange Boven	G. C.	Hughes	April 1, 1814	—
675	§Otium cum Dignitate	G. C.	Tipper	May 1, 1814	*
676	Oven on Fire (The)	I. C.	F.	Aug. 24, 1808	B. M. *
	P.				
677	Pacific Overtures	G.	H.	April 5, 1806	B. M. *
678	Pair of Spectacles easily seen Through (A)	Anon.	T.	June 17, 1815	*
679	Parceling out John Bull	Roberts *sc.*	R.	Autumn 1802	B. M. *
680	Parish Meeting on the Subject of Invasion. *Broadside*	I. C.	Allen	July 18, 1803	*
681	Parting of Hector Nap (The) (Russian Campaign Plate, No. 1)	Anon.	T.	April 1813	B. M. *
682	Past, the Present (The)	'G.'	—	? 1818	*
683	Patience on a Monument. *See also* Fast Colours.	W.	Hd.	January 1804	*

684	Peace and Plenty	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	May 25, 1814	*
685	Peace or War	Anon.	Hd.	April 17, 1803	*
686	Peaceable Pipe (A)	Anon.	Hd.	April 14, 1802	*
687	Peasant carrying off a French Cannon (A)	G. C.	H.	June 8, 1813	*
688	Peddigree of Corporal Violet (The) . .	G.C.*sc.*; G.H.*del.*	H.	June 9, 1815	B. M. *
689	Peep at the Corsican Fairy (A) . . .	Anon.	R.	Spring 1803	B. M. *
690	Peep at the Lion (A)	W.	Hd.	Dec. 20, 1802	B. M.
691	Peep into the Royal Closet (A)	W.	T.	Nov. 15, 1808	*
692	Perusing the State Papers	A.	W.	March 1808	B. M.
693	Phæton Alarmed	G.	H.	Mar. 22, 1808	B. M. *
694	Phantasmagorie (6 pictures). *Orig. Sketch*	G.	—	End 1806	*
695	‡Phenix of Elba resuscitated (The) . . .	G. C.	Jones	May 1, 1815	*
696	Physical Aid	G.	H.	Mar. 11, 1803	B. M. *
697	Pidcock's Grand Menagerie. *Broadside*. *And see* Cruce Dignus.	Anon.	—	Autumn 1803	*
698	Pills for Paul	Anon.	Hd.	January 1801	*
699	Plain Answers to Plain Questions. *Br.* .	Anon.	—	Autumn 1803	*
—	Platoff Hunt. *See* Cossack Sports.				
700	Playing at Bubbles	Smith *sc.*	R.	June 25, 1803	B. M. *
701	Pleasant Draught for Louis (A) . . .	Elmes	T.	Spring 1814	*
702	Pleasing . . . Game of Messengers (The) .	Anon.	W.	August 1806	B. M. *
703	[Pleasures of a Tandem (The)	Anon.	McCleary	1815	*]
704	†Plumb-Pudding in Danger (The) . . .	G.	H.	Feb. 26, 1805	B. M. *
705	Plump to the Devil, &c.	R.	T.	Nov. 30, 1813	*
706	‖Poisoning the Sick at Jaffa	G. C.	T.	Nov. 29, 1814	*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
707	Polish Diet with French Desert . . .	Elmes	T.	Dec. 8, 1812	B. M. *
708	Polish Pie	Anon.	T.	Sept. 10, 1807	B. M.
709	Political Butcher (The)	G. S. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 12, 1808	*
710	Political Champion (The)	I. R. C.	King	Dec. 1819	*
711	Political Chemist and German Retorts .	R.	A.	Dec. 14, 1813	*
712	Political Chess-Players	G. H. *inv.*	H.	March 1, 1814	B. M. *
713	Political Cock-Horse (The)	G. S. *del.*	A.	Mar. 10, 1807	B. M. *
714	Political Cocks (The)	A.	F.	Mar. 27, 1803	B. M. *
715	†Political Dreamings, Visions of Peace, &c.	G.	H.	Nov. 9, 1801	B. M. *
716	Political Fair (A)	W.	T.	Oct. 1, 1807	B. M. *
717	Political Mathematicians	G.	H.	Jan. 9, 1807	*
718	Political Quacks	Anon.	W.	Nov. 1808	B. M.
719	Political Quadrille	A.	W.	October 1806	B. M. *
720	Political Quadrille: the Game Up! . .	A.	W.	August 1808	B. M. *
721	Pope Joe receiving a Treat	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	T.	Aug. 23, 1808	*
722	Pope's Excommunication (The)	R.	T.	Sept. 3, 1809	—
723	Portugal Catch for Three Voices (A) . .	Anon.	F.	October 1808	*
724	Posting to the Election	G.	H.	Dec. 1, 1806	B. M. *
725	†Preliminaries of Peace (1).	G.	H.	Oct. 6, 1801	*
726	Preliminaries of Peace (2).	Anon.	—	Autumn 1801	B. M.
727	‡Preparing John Bull for General Congress	G. C.	Jones	Aug. 1, 1813	*

728	‡Preparing for War	G. C.	Jones	June 1, 1815	*
729	Preparing to Invade	I. C.	Williamson	July 28, 1803	B. M.
730	Present of Eight Swans (A)	Anon.	L. & W.	Aug. 8, 1803	*
731	Present State of France (The). *Broadside*	G. C.	Wooler	1815	—
732	‡Princely Piety	G. C.	Jones	Dec. 1, 1811	*
733	Procession to the Coronation	Anon.	Hd.	January 1805	*
734	Progress of the Emperor Napoleon (The) (8 pictures)	R.	T.	Nov. 19, 1808	*
735	Progress of . . . Josephine (8 pictures) .	W.; 'C. W.' *sc.*	T.	April 20, 1808	*
736	Promis'd Horrors of the French Invasion	G.	H.	Oct. 20, 1796	*
737	Prophecy (The)	G. C.	J.	January 1813	*
738	Prophecy Explained	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 17, 1808	*
739	Prophesy on the Downfall of the French (A)	Anon.	Parkes	Feb. 1, 1809	*
740	Proposal from the New Emperor (A) . .	A.	F.	July 9, 1804	B. M. *
741	Public Execution of a Tyrant	'T. H.'	—	March 1814	*
742	‖Pursued by Cossacks	G. C.	T.	Jan. 6, 1815	*
—	Pursuit of Knowledge. *See* Insurrection.				

Q.

743	‡Quadrupeds, or Little Boney's Last Kick	G. C.	Jones	Jan. 1, 1813	*
—	Quadrille. *See* Political Quadrille.				

R.

744	Raft in Danger (The)	I. C.	F.	Jan. 28, 1798	*
745	Rare Acquisition to the Royal Menagerie (A)	R.	A.	July 28, 1815	*

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
746	Rarities from Abroad	Anon.	Garbanati	Mar. 18, 1801	*
747	Rash Attempt and Woful Downfall (A) .	Anon.	L. & W.	Aug. 12, 1803	B. M.
748	‖Red Man (The)	G. C.	T.	Jan. 6, 1815	*
749	Rehearsal of a French Invasion . . .	R.	A.	May 18, 1798	*
750	Representation of the present state of France [1]	Anon.	Mayer	Aug. 13, 1804	B. M. *
751	Represesentation (*sic*) of ye Gull Trap .	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	April 6, 1814	*
752	Resolutions in Case of an Invasion . .	West	Hd.	Aug. 8, 1803	B. M. *
753	Restitution (The) (*French source*) . . .	Hughes	—	Spring 1814	B. M.
754	Retireing from Business	Heath	K.	April 28, 1814	*
755	Retreat of Bonaparte from Russia (*Original Sketch*)	Anon.	—	1813	*
756	Return from an Invasion (A)	Nixon	Asperne	Autumn 1803	Brothers
757	Return of the Paris Dilligence	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	Sept. 6, 1815	B. M. *
758	Review of the French Troops, &c. . .	G. C.	H.	May 27, 1813	B. M. *
759	Review of the New Grand Army (A) . .	Anon.	—	March 1815	B. M. *
760	Right Owner (The)	I. C.	Williamson	June 1, 1804	B. M. *
761	'Rights of Nations' [Title clipped] . .	Anon.	—	1807	*
762	Ring the Alarum Bell! *Broadside* . .	Anon.	Hatchard	Aug. 27, 1803	*
763	Rise and Progress of Buonaparte (Arms) [2]	G. C.	Smeeton	Spring 1814	*
764	Rising Sun (The)	G. S. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Aug. 28, 1808	*

765	†Rival Accoucheurs (The)	A.	F.	July 10, 1800	B. M. *
766	Rival Gardeners (The)	A.	F.	Feb. 10, 1803	B. M. *
—	Roast Beef and French Soup. *See* English Lamb.				
767	Rogue's March (The) . . . . . *And see* Grand Manœuvre.	R.	T.	April 15, 1814	*
768	Rogue's March from Madrid (The) . .	G. C.	A.	Sept. 14, 1808	*
769	Rosey Picture of the Times (A) . . .	Elmes	T.	May 6, 1812	B. M. *
770	Royal Allied Oak (The)	Field	Heath	May 29, 1815	—
771	Royal Amusement	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	T.	Sept. 1806	*
772	§Royal Beggars (The)	G. C.	Tipper	Feb. 1, 1814	*
773	‡Royal Christmas Boxes	G. C.	Jones	Jan. 1, 1816	*
774	Royal Docters bringing Boney to Pott .	Anon.	T.	July 5, 1815	*
775	Russian Amusement	Roberts *sc.*	R.[3]	1804	B. M. *
776	Russian Boor Returning, &c. (A) . . .	G. C. *sc.*[4]	H.	Jan. 8, 1813	*
—	Russian Chopping Blocks. *See* Specimen.				
777	Russian Peasant loading a Dung Cart .	G. C. *sc.*	H.	March 1, 1813	*
778	Russians Teaching Boney to Dance . .	G. C. *sc.*	H.	May 18, 1813	*
	S.				
779	Sacrifice to Ambition (A)	Boyne; Barth *sc.*	Cribb	Dec. 12, 1803	*
780	Sailors in Westminster Abbey	Anon.	F.	Aug. 27, 1804	*
781	St. George and the Dragon	Roberts *sc.*	R.	Aug. 26, 1803	B. M. *

[1] From the *Prophetic Mirror*.
[2] In part adapted and in part copied, on a slightly smaller scale, from No. 329. Companion print to No. 569.
[3] Republished by Tegg, Jan. 1, 1814. [4] 'Copied from a Russian Print,' as also Nos. 368, 632, 777, 778, and 823.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
782	St. George and the Dragon (Statue) . .	G. *sc.*	H.	Aug. 2, 1805	B. M. *
783	St. James's Volunteers firing	W.	Hd.	Nov. 1803	*
—	St. Napoleon. *See* Enfant Trouvé.				
784	Satan's Return from [Egypt] Earth . .	Cawse	F.	Nov. 30, 1799	B. M. *
785	Save-all and the Extinguisher (The) . .	West	Hd.	June 13, 1803	B. M.
786	Scarecrows' Arrival (The)	I. C.	F.	June 10, 1803	B. M. *
—	Scene after the Battle of Vittoria. *See* More Trophies.				
787	§Scene at Boulogna (A)	Anon.	Tipper	Nov. 1, 1811	*
788	Scene at the London Museum	G. C.	H.[1]	January 1816	*
789	Scene in a New Pantomime	R.	A.	April 12, 1815	*
790	Scene in the Island of Elba (A)	Heath *sc.*	A.	July 1814	*
791	Scene on Board [the *Northumberland*] (A)	Anon.	—	Autumn 1815	*
792	Scene on the Frontiers (A)	Anon.	T.	June 17, 1815	*
793	Science in the Pillory	G.	H.	March 6, 1799	*
794	Search Night	G.	H.	Mar. 20, 1798	—
795	§Second-sight View of the Blessings of Radical Reform	Anon.	Tipper	May 1, 1809	*
796	See the Conquering Hero Comes! . . .	—	W. & K.	Sept. 14, 1812	*
797	See-saw: a specimen of French stability	G. C.	Harrild	April 1, 1815	*
798	See-saw (The) [*Le Brin de Paille*] . . .	'G. C. S.'	—	Spring 1815	—

799	‖Seige (*sic*) of Acre	G. C.	T.	Dec. 4, 1814	*
800	‖Seizing the Italian Relics	G. C.	T.	Dec. 1, 1814	*
801	†Selling the Skin, &c.	I. C.	F.	Dec. 24, 1803	B. M. *
802	Senatus Consultum (A)	'A. M. *inv.*'	F.	Sept. 10, 1808	B. M. *
—	Sentinel. *See* Centinel.				
803	‖Shooting the Prisoners in Egypt . . .	G. C.	T.	Nov. 29, 1814	*
804	†Shrine at St. Anne's Hill	G.	H.	May 26, 1798	*
805	Side Dish for the City (A)	Anon.	McCleary	June 1814	*
—	Siege. *See* Seige.				
—	Siège de la Colonne. *See* Science.				
806	‖Signing his Abdication	G. C.	T.	Jan. 6, 1815	*
807	Silhouettes: a set of scenes from the life of Napoleon	Anon.	—	1821	*
808	Singular Trait of B.'s Mameluke (A) . .	G. C.	K.	May 5, 1814	*
809	§Sketch for a Prime Minister	Anon.	Tipper	Feb. 1, 1811	*
810	Sketch for the Regent's Speech (A) . .	G. C.	W. & K.	Dec. 1812	*
811	Snuffing out Boney	G. C.	T.	May 1, 1814	*
812	Sorrows of Boney (The) (Elba)	Anon.	Wallis	April 15, 1814	B. M. *
813	Sorrows of Boney (The) (St. Helena). *Reverse*	—	McCleary	Autumn 1815	*
814	Spanish Bull Fight (The)	G.	H.	July 11, 1808	B. M. *
815	Spanish Bull Fight (The) [2]	G. *del.*	F.	July 10, 1808	*
816	Spanish Comfort	W.	A.	Feb. 1, 1805	*

[1] Republished by Thos. McLean, Aug. 1, 1835.

[2] Facsimile of the foregoing, published the day before it [July 01th (*sic*) 1808]; presumably one of Gillray's indiscretions.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
817	Spanish Flies	Anon.	W.	August 1808	B. M. *
818	Spanish Lick-rish	—	T.	Aug. 30, 1808	*
819	Spanish Mule of Madrid (The) (*Douglas No. 1272*)	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	Mar. 21, 1815	*
820	Spanish Passport to France (A) . . .	W. *del.*; R. *sc.*	A.	Sept. 12, 1808	*
821	Spanish Patriots entring Madrid . . .	G. C.	F.	July 14, 1808	*
822	Spanish Pills operating	Anon.	Hd.	October 1808	B. M. *
823	Specimen of Russian Chopping Blocks .	G. C. *sc.*	H.	Jan. 8, 1813	*
824	Sphinx (The) (from *l'Ambigu*)	Anon.	Pelletier	1803	*
825	‡State of Politicks at the close of . . . 1815	G. C.	Jones	Dec. 1, 1815	*
826	State of the War (The)	G.	H.	May 20, 1799	*
827	Stoppage to a Stride over the Globe (A).	Roberts *sc.*	R.[1]	April 16, 1803	B. M. *
828	Storm Rising (The)	G.	H.	Feb. 1, 1798	*
829	Stratagem: alias the French Bugabo (The)	—	F.	Jan. 1, 1799	*
830	Stride from Paris to Lille (A)	Anon.	J.	April 5, 1815	Le Roux
831	Surrender of Ulm (The)	G.	H.	Nov. 6, 1805	B. M. *
	T.				
832	Taking Leave	Anon.	Hd.	Nov. 12, 1802	B. M.
833	Talma and Napoleon (practical heads) .	Anon.	A.	Feb. 15, 1821	*
834	¶Talleyrand in his Study	G. C.	Hughes	July 1, 1814	—

835	Thieves robbing . . . lodgings	Anon.	—	July 1808	*
—	Thorpe Hall. *See* Execution.				
836	Thoughts on Invasion	Charles	The Artist	Oct. 11, 1803	B. M.
837	Three and the Duce (*sic*)	Heath	—	Spring 1813	*
838	'Three Panels of Napoleon' (*Original Sk.*)	Anon.	—	? 1817	*
839	Three Plagues of Europe (The) (1) . . .	W.	Hd.	June 1, 1803	*
840	Three Plagues of Europe (The) (2) . .	West	R.	August 1803	B. M.
841	Three Weeks after Marriage	R.	T.	May 15, 1810	*
842	Thunder Bolt for Boney (A)	Anon.	Palser	June 12, 1815	*
843	Tiddy Doll, the . . . Gingerbread Baker .	G.	H.	Jan. 23, 1806	B. M. *
844	Time is Come ; his Fate is Cast . . .	Anon.	West	June 1814	*
845	Tit-Bit for a Cossack (A)	Elmes	T.	Jan. 4, 1813	B. M. *
846	Tom Thumb and the Giant	Anon.	—	October 1813	B. M. *
847	Tom Thumb at Bay	A.	F.	October 1805	B. M. *
848	§Tragedy and Comedy	Brooke	Tipper	July 1, 1813	*
849	Translatable Bonaparte (The) (practical heads)	Anon.	—	1814	*
850	Transparency exhibited . . . in London .	R.	A.	Nov. 27, 1815	*
—	Transparencies. *See also* Ackermann ; Execution ; Napoleon with a Python ; Time is Come ; Two Kings of Terror ; *and* Wellington.				
—	Trial of Napoleon. *See* Full . . . account				
851	Trip to Paris (A)	A. *del.* ; W. S. *sc.*	F.	May 14, 1802	B. M. *
852	Trip-Hell Alliance (The)	G. C.	K.	March 3, 1813	*

[1] Republished by Blacklock, May 1806, and by Tegg, January 1, 1807.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
—	'Triumph of the Year 1813: True portrait of the Conqueror.' *See* Hieroglyphic.				
853	Twelfth Night	G. C.; G. H. *inv.*	H.	January 1815	*
854	Two Kings of Terror (The)	R.	A.	Nov. 1813	*
855	Two Wonders of the World	A.	F.	May 1806	B. M. *
856	Tyrant of France (Reverse of Medal) . .	Anon.	A.	Spring 1814	*
857	Tyrant of the Continent is Fallen (The) .	R.	A.	May 1, 1814	*
858	Tyrant overtaken by Justice (The) . .	Marks; G. C. *sc.*	T.	May 1814	*
	U.				
—	Ulm. *See* Surrender of.				
859	Ultimatum (The) . . . . . *And cf.* Waste Paper.	I. C.	K.	May 14, 1803	B. M.
860	Universal Murderer of Domestic Happiness (The).	Anon.	F.	Dec. 24, 1810	*
861	Upshot of the Invasion (The) [1] . . .	Anon.	Vernor	1804	*
	V.				
—	Valentine for Boney. *See* Cossacks returning.				
—	Valentine. *See also* Boney Griped.				

862	Valley of the Shadow of Death (The) (1) .	G.	H.	Sept. 24, 1808	B. M. *
863	Valley of the Shadow of Death (The) (2)	Anon.	T.	Dec. 18, 1812	B. M.
864	[Very Slippy Weather	G.	H.	Feb. 10, 1808	*
865	View of the Grand Triumphal Pillar, &c.	G.C.*sc.*; G.H.*inv.*	H.	May 12, 1815	*
—	Violet; Violette. *See* Corporal; Imperial; *and* Peddigree.				
866	Vive le Roi! Vive l'Empereur! . . .	R.	A.	May 1815	*
—	Volpone. *See* Introduction.				
	W.				
867	Wags of Paris (The)	Anon.	K.	March 6, 1813	B. M. *
868	War in the East against the Cats[2] . .	R.	A.	Feb. 23, 1816	*
869	War with Denmark	Anon.	T.	Nov. 10, 1807	*
870	Warm Winter Quarters (Russian Campaign Plate, No. 5)	Anon.	T.	May 1813	B. M. *
871	Waste Paper	I. C.	Williamson	May 5, 1803	B. M.
872	Wellington and Napoleon: Transparency	Cobbold	—	? 1818	*
873	Westminster Conscripts	G.	H.	Sept. 1, 1806	*
—	What I Was, &c. *See* Boney turned Moralist.				
874	Which Drowns First?	Anon.	Hd.	May 1, 1812	B. M. *
875	White Flag (The). *Broadside*	Anon.	Thompson	June 1, 1814	*
876	Whitlock the Second (*Douglas No. 1253*)	G. C.	F.	Sept. 29, 1808	*
877	Wonderful Monster . . . to frighten Boney (The) (*Original Sketch*)	G.	—	Sept. 1806	*

[1] From the *Anti-Gallican*.

[2] Enlarged reproduction of the German plate, E. 71.

ADDENDA

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.	Collection.
878	Bonaparte resigning the Crown and Sceptre to the British Lion . . .	Rehberg *pinx.*	The Artist	July 1814	*
879	Dreadful Fears of Invasion	Cawse	Williamson	Aug. 2, 1803	*
880	King of Cups (The) (*Spanish source*) . .	Anon.	Hd.	May 1809	*
881	Napoleon: back view (*Original Sketch*) .	D. I. [1]	—	1816	*
882	Napoleon: profile to left (*Original Sketch*)	D. I.	—	1816	*
883	Napoleon, Bertrand, and Las Cases: N., back view; B., profile to right; L. C., back view, head to right (*Orig. Sk.*) .	D. I.	—	1816	*
884	Napoleon, Bertrand, Las Cases: N., profile to right; B. and L. C. as before (*Original Sketch*) [2]	D. I.	—	1816	*
885	Needs must when the Devil drives . .	Roberts *sc.*	R.[3]	1803	*
886	Political Accommodation	—	Blacklock	January 1806	*
887	Spanish Joke (A)	I. & G. C.	T.	Sept. 5, 1808	—
888	Spanish Patriots attacking the French Banditti	G.	H.	Aug. 15, 1808	—
889	Two Veterans (The). *Broadside* . . .	G. C.	T.	1814	v. Stolk
890	Who's Afraid, or the Effects of an Invasion	W.	F.	Nov. 21, 1796	*

[1] See No. 604.

[2] Sub-title: A View at Longwood in the Island of St. Helena, 1816.

[3] Republished by Kaygill, November 9, 1906.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.
891	All presenting their little bills	—	T.	1816
892	As to those monsters who under the title, &c. .	—	Baldwyn	1815
893	Bernadotte (*cf.* Nos. 6 and 148)	Heath	A.	March 1814
894	Between two stools	—	F.	1802
895	Bonaparte getting a shave in England	—	Hd.	1803
896	Bonaparte in London	—	R.	1803
897	Bonaparte snatching at the British Crown . . .		L. & W.	1803
898	Boney at a stand	—	Mitchell	1803
899	Boney's dream of a dagger	Charles	The Artist	1803
900	Boney's last supper	Charles	The Artist	1803
901	British mower and the Lilliputians (The)	—	Hd.	1803
902	Citizens worshipping the idol	—	Hilton	1803
903	Consular piety	W	Hodge	1803
904	Consular promises	W.	R.	1803
905	Conversation across the water. *Broadside* . . .	—	R.	1803
906	Corsican dissected (The)	—	Hd.	1803

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.
907	Corsican invader sketching his plans (The) . . .	—	Hd.	1804
908	Crying for a new toy	—	Williamson	1803
909	Departure (The)	—	Hd.	1803
910	Despairing Hero (The)	—	Harding	1803
911	Devil fly away with him (The)	—	Hd.	1803
912	Dinner for John Bull (A)	—	T.	1806
913	Downfall of the insolent Bonaparte (The) . . .	—	Rande	1803
914	Dramatis personæ of the Theatre of Europe. *Broadside*	Woodthorpe	Badcock	1803
915	Empress' wish, or Boney puzzled (The)	Anon.	T.	1810
916	Europe, a consummation devoutly to be wished (*Original Sketch*)	Anon.	—	1808
917	Eye of all Europe on John Bull (The)	—	Hd.	1803
918	Facing the enemy	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	—	1803

919	Famous enigma (A)	—	T.	—
920	Fatal battle of Krasnoy (The)	—	McCleary	1813
921	First exploit (The)	—	W.	1807
922	First interview between the Lion and the Cock (The)	—	Hd.	1803
923	French Fleet sailing into the Thames (The) . . .	—	Hd.	1803
924	General Monkey and General Wolf	—	Hd.	1803
925	General Sunflower and Corporal Violet	—	—	1815
926	Ghost of Queen Elizabeth (The). *Broadside* . . .	—	Hd.	1803
927	Grand flatterer (The)	—	Hd.	1803
928	Hasty sketch at Verona (A)	Marks	—	1818
929	Homestroke for Litle Boney (A)	J. P. L.	Hd.	1803
930	Hopes of the Nation, &c. (The)	West	Hd.	1803
931	How to invade England (*cf.* Nos. 446 and 728) .	I. C.	Williamson	July 28, 1803
932	John Bull at the Riding School	W.	R.	1803
933	John Bull clipping the Corsican's wings	—	Hd.	1803
934	John Bull firing at a mark	—	Hd.	1803
935	John Bull in perplexity	—	McLean	1803
936	John Bull on a visit to Elba (*Original Sketch*) . .	—	—	1814–15

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Pubilsher.	Date.
937	John Bull on the Watch	—	Hd.	1803
938	John Bull peppering Bonaparte	I. C.	Hd.	1803
939	John Bull shooting	—	R.	1803
940	John Bull treating Bonaparte to paint up and down	—	R.	1803
941	John Bull viewing the preparations, &c.	—	Hd.	1803
942	Johnny's tune on a new fiddle	Charles	The Artist	1803
943	Justice holding up the head of Napoleon	—	'Morning Chronicle'	—
944	King George and the Prophetess	—	—	—
945	King Jerry	W.	T.	1807
946	King Joey taking leave of his Capital	—	F.	1812
947	Kiss at the Congress (A)	—	F.	1818
948	Liberty à la Française	—	Hd.	1803
949	Lion and the Frogs (The)	—	Hd.	1803
950	Little boaster, &c. (A)	—	A.	1803
951	Loyal Jew and the French soldier (The)	—	Hd.	1803
952	Loyal Tailors' resolution (The)	—	Hd.	1803

953	Maltese man-trap (The)	—	Hd.	1803
954	Man in the moon (The)	—	Hd.	1803
955	Many things happen between the cup and the lip	—	Williamson	—
956	Men of Kent (The)	—	Hd.	1803
957	Molly put the kettle on!	W.	R.	—
958	Monkey at Bay (The)	—	Hd.	1804
959	More rafts, &c.	—	L. & W.	1803
960	Mrs. Bull's view of the French coast	—	Hd.	1803
961	Nap upon the house of ease	—	—	1813
962	Nap's Heroes (Russian Campaign Plate No. 3) [1]	Anon.	T.	April 1813
963	Nappy in Tow	I. C.	—	1803
964	New Moses (A)	I. C.	Gifford	1803
965	New patriotic song (A)	—	Durand	1803
966	New Te Deum (A)	—	Williamson	1803
967	Objects reflected in Ireland's mirror	—	—	1804
968	Phantasmagoria (A)	G.	The Artist	Jan. 5, 1803
969	Plunderer beating duplicity	—	F.	1798

[1] See Nos. 384, 598, 599, 600, 601, 681, and 870.

No.	Short Title.	Artist.	Publisher.	Date.
970	Preparations for Hostilities	—	Hd.	1803
971	Prisoner above control (The) (*Original Sketch*)	—	—	1816
972	Prussian Eagle humbled (The)	—	Blacklock	1806
973	Puzzles for Patriots	W.	Hd.	1803
974	Puzzles for Volunteers	W.	Hd.	1803
975	Queen Elizabeth's speech. *Broadside*	—	Wallis	1803
976	Quick salute for the British Lion (A)	—	R.	1803
977	Review of the ladies (A)	W.	Hd.	1803
978	Salute for Boney (A)	Charles	The Artist	1803
979	Second thoughts are best	—	Williamson	1806
980	Sharpshooter (A)	—	Hd.	1803
981	Side Dish for John Bull (A)	—	Hd.	1803
982	Skeleton of France (The)	—	Hd.	1803
983	Spaniards, Death or Victory	—	W.	1808
984	Spanish Pie (The)	—	—	1808

985	Thoughts on the Invasion	I. C.	A.	1803
986	Tit-bit for a Russian Ambassador (A)	—	Hd.	1803
987	Veteran's address to a young Sailor (The). *Broadside*	W. *del.*; I. C. *sc.*	A.	1803
988	View of a Colossal Statue (A)	I. C.	Williamson	1803
989	Wages of Sin is Death (The)	—	—	1807
990	What Britons ought to avoid. *Broadside*	—	Badcock	1803

APPENDIX B

ENGLISH CARICATURES ACCORDING TO ARTISTS

ISAAC CRUIKSHANK.—*Nos.* 8, 19, 45, 47, 86, 88, 103, 127, 143, 152, 162, 166, 178, 215, 222, 225, 247, 252, 278, 279, 281, 282, 294, 296, 308, 326, 337, 359, 363, 376, 394, 400, 415, 422, 428, 439, 446, 473, 488, 498, 499, 504, 510, 535, 581, 646, 649, 669, 671, 673, 676, 680, 729, 744, 760, 771, 786, 801, 859, 871, 879, 918, 931, 938, 963, 964, 985, 987, 988.

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK.—*Nos.* 2, 5, 9, 17, 20, 24, 41, 45, 50, 51, 52, 55, 58, 89, 96, 101, 103, 105, 110, 114, 116, 118, 124, 125, 141, 147, 149, 159, 168, 169, 187, 188, 189, 192, 207, 233, 239, 240, 245, 251, 255, 265, 268, 277, 282, 289, 290, 299, 300, 301, 312, 313, 335, 341, 342, 347, 349, 353, 360, 365, 368, 369, 381, 383, 387, 391, 396, 398, 402, 408, 410, 419, 426, 430, 432, 434, 437, 440, 453, 460, 487, 492, 498, 524, 526, 528, 529, 538, 540, 550, 562, 563, 564, 566, 568, 576, 578, 584, 587, 589, 590, 603, 609, 610, 614, 618, 621, 629, 632, 633, 634, 640, 653, 657, 662, 667, 668, 674, 675, 684, 687, 688, 695, 706, 727, 728, 731, 737, 742, 743, 748, 751, 757, 758, 763, 768, 772, 773, 776, 777, 778, 788, 797, 799, 800, 803, 806, 808, 810, 811, 819, 821, 823, 825, 834, 852, 853, 858, 865, 876, 887, 889.

ISAAC ROBERT CRUIKSHANK.—*Nos.* 290, 417, 578, 579, 710.

JAMES GILLRAY.—*Nos.* 12, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 81, 126, 136, 153, 154, 157, 179, 185, 196, 230, 261, 264, 266, 271, 283, 286, 298, 304, 318, 325, 331, 339, 343, 362, 364, 366, 370, 392, 393, 407, 423, 438, 461, 465, 466, 467, 475, 494, 501, 522, 523, 539, 557, 559, 560, 582, 612, 644, 647, 650, 654, 661, 677, 693, 694, 696, 704, 715, 724, 725, 736, 782, 793, 794, 804, 814, 815, 826, 828, 831, 843, 862, 864, 873, 877, 886, 888.

THOMAS ROWLANDSON.—*Nos.* 1, 3, 7, 46, 48, 54, 56, 104, 107, 108, 119, 142, 186, 199, 213, 228, 229, 234, 235, 236, 237, 258, 260, 263, 267, 276, 288, 292, 295, 305, 319, 321, 328, 346, 348, 354, 356, 372, 373, 374, 378, 416, 425, 429, 431, 433, 436, 445, 450, 478, 491, 493, 515, 517, 519, 520, 549, 573, 574, 594, 595, 596, 619, 623, 626, 627, 628, 641, 648, 659, 660, 663, 705, 709, 711, 721, 722, 734, 738, 745, 749, 764, 767, 789, 820, 841, 850, 854, 857, 866, 868.

GEORGE M. WOODWARD.—*Nos.* 15, 32, 47, 60, 69, 82, 138, 142, 145, 151, 160, 162, 166, 181, 200, 203, 206, 218, 225, 227, 229, 232, 234, 278, 279, 337, 354, 376, 377, 389, 390, 396, 414, 429, 445, 459, 473, 477, 480, 483, 486, 493, 496, 500, 519, 520, 527, 543, 572, 586, 611, 630, 636, 638, 639, 651, 683, 690, 691, 716, 721, 735, 738, 771, 783, 816, 820, 839, 890, 903, 904, 918, 932, 945, 957, 973, 974, 977, 987.

CHARLES ANSELL.—*Nos.* 4, 53, 73, 76, 77, 85, 91, 98, 112, 113, 129, 140, 155, 172, 176, 182, 183, 195, 216, 238, 250, 285, 302, 307, 358, 382, 395, 403, 411, 448, 452, 525, 546, 552, 558, 575, 591, 692, 714, 719, 720, 740, 765, 766, 847, 851, 853.

LEWIS MARKS.—*Nos.* 78, 93, 97, 273, 316, 324, 424, 642, 858, 928.

TEMPLE WEST.—*Nos.* 16, 90, 128, 133, 139, 224, 270, 357, 427, 489, 502, 585, 752, 785, 840, 930.

GEORGE SAULEY.—*Nos.* 46, 61, 64, 310, 374, 425, 515, 709, 713, 764.

WILLIAM HEATH.—*Nos.* 6, 44, 148, 351, 409, 553, 567, 571, 754, 780, 837, 893.

WILLIAM ELMES.—*Nos.* 57, 59, 65, 217, 241, 242, 380, 386, 469, 481, 542, 665, 701, 707, 769, 845.

WILLIAM CHARLES.—*Nos.* 74, 421, 652, 836, 899, 900, 942, 978.

W. H. Brooke.—*Nos.* 180, 193, 455, 476, 848.

John Cawse.—*Nos.* 99, 202, 231, 406, 485, 784, 879.

Denzil Ibbetson.—*Nos.* 345, 602, 604, 881, 882, 883, 884.

Lieut.-Col. T. Bradyll.—*Nos.* 392, 522, 523, 544.

Roberts (*sc.*).—*Nos.* 150, 200, 306, 444, 495, 508, 572, 586, 593, 637, 643, 664, 679, 775, 781, 827, 885.

G. Humphrey (*inv.* or *del.*).—*Nos.* 9, 37, 114, 116, 141, 239, 300, 335, 383, 579, 653, 684, 688, 712, 751, 757, 819, 853, 865.

S. Knight (*sc.* or *inv.*).—*Nos.* 71, 398, 516.

Nixon.—*Nos.* 263, 555, 756.

"Argus."—*Nos.* 84, 205, 397.

Boyne *del.*, Barth *sc.*—*Nos.* 379, 779.

Woodthorpe.—*Nos.* 21, 914.

Henry Tresham.—*Nos.* 612, 613.

"C. W." *sc.*—*Nos.* 639, 735.

"W. S." *sc.*—*Nos.* 636, 851.

Names or initials occurring only once are not included.

APPENDIX C

ENGLISH CARICATURES ACCORDING TO PUBLISHERS

R. Ackermann.—*Nos.* 1, 3, 6, 20, 46, 48, 49, 61, 70, 82, 107, 108, 119, 127, 148, 166, 174, 186, 197, 199, 213, 225, 228, 235, 236, 237, 258, 260, 267, 276, 282, 288, 295, 305, 319, 321, 346, 348, 354, 356, 373, 374, 376, 378, 425, 431, 433, 436, 450, 473, 478, 491, 499, 510, 515, 527, 556, 573, 574, 592, 594, 623, 626, 627, 651, 709, 711, 713, 738, 745, 749, 764, 768, 789, 790, 816, 820, 833, 850, 854, 856, 866, 868, 893, 950, 985, 987.

Humphrey.—*Nos.* 9, 12, 22, 23, 26, 29, 81, 114, 116, 126, 136, 141, 153, 154, 157, 165, 179, 185, 230, 239, 240, 261, 264, 266, 271, 283, 286, 298, 299, 300, 304, 312, 318, 325, 331, 339, 343, 362, 364, 365, 366, 368, 370, 383, 391, 392, 407, 423, 434, 438, 461, 465, 466, 467, 475, 494, 501, 522, 523, 539, 557, 559, 579, 632, 644, 647, 653, 654, 661, 677, 684, 687, 688, 693, 696, 704, 712, 715, 717, 724, 725, 736, 751, 757, 758, 776, 777, 778, 782, 788, 793, 794, 804, 814, 819, 823, 828, 831, 853, 864, 865, 873, 888.

S. W. Fores.—*Nos.* 4, 11, 13, 19, 35, 73, 80, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 98, 99, 102, 103, 112, 113, 118, 120, 128, 144, 152, 155, 171, 172, 175, 176, 178, 182, 183, 184, 192, 195, 226, 238, 248, 250, 252, 259, 280, 281, 287, 294, 302, 303, 307, 308, 317, 352, 358, 359, 363, 382, 394, 401, 403, 406, 411, 422, 432, 439, 483, 485, 525, 529, 535, 546, 552, 649, 657, 667, 670, 671, 676, 714, 723, 740, 744, 765, 766, 780, 784, 786, 801, 802, 815, 821, 829, 847, 851, 855, 860, 876, 890, 894, 946, 947, 968.

T. Tegg.—*Nos.* 25, 41, 43, 45, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 65, 66, 77, 79, 85, 91, 92, 104, 109, 124, 138, 142, 151, 168, 169, 203, 206, 217, 229, 232, 234, 241, 242, 245, 251, 255, 269, 272, 292, 306, 336, 342, 344, 347, 372, 380, 384, 386, 389, 390, 396, 410, 412, 424, 426, 429, 444, 445, 459, 460, 481, 482, 493, 497, 498, 517, 518, 519, 520, 528, 536, 538, 540, 542, 549, 558, 562, 563, 564, 576, 584, 589, 590, 595, 596, 598, 599, 600, 601, 610, 614, 621, 629, 630, 639, 641, 659, 660, 662, 663, 665, 678, 681, 691, 701, 705, 706, 707, 708, 716, 721, 722, 734, 735, 742, 748, 767, 769, 771, 774, 792, 799, 800, 803, 806, 811, 818, 827, 841, 845, 858, 863, 869, 870, 887, 889, 891, 912, 915, 919, 945, 962.

Holland.—*Nos.* 15, 16, 32, 42, 44, 69, 72, 90, 100, 130, 131, 133, 137, 139, 145, 150, 160, 202, 204, 214, 215, 218, 219, 221, 224, 227, 231, 247, 270, 291, 293, 296, 340, 357, 367, 377, 399, 427, 458, 464, 480, 486, 489, 495, 500, 502, 530, 533, 555, 565, 572, 583, 585, 631, 645, 656, 673, 683, 685, 686, 690, 698, 733, 752, 783, 785, 822, 832, 839, 874, 880, 895, 901, 906, 907, 909, 911, 917, 922, 923, 924, 926, 927, 929, 930, 933, 934, 937, 938, 941, 948, 949, 951, 952, 953, 954, 956, 958, 960, 970, 973, 974, 977, 980, 981, 982, 986.

Johnston.—*Nos.* 7, 24, 93, 111, 187, 189, 191, 341, 369, 385, 513, 737, 830.

Roberts.—*Nos.* 30, 31, 33, 36, 60, 115, 121, 181, 200, 220, 306, 414, 418, 444, 477, 496, 508, 532, 541, 543, 547, 586, 593, 637, 638, 643, 664, 666, 679, 689, 700, 775, 781, 827, 840, 885, 896, 904, 905, 932, 939, 940, 957, 976.

Knight.—*Nos.* 2, 14, 17, 37, 97, 101, 110, 159, 170, 207, 216, 233, 243, 244, 257, 265, 301, 360, 398, 408, 409, 413, 430, 443, 447, 492, 524, 534, 634, 642, 754, 808, 852, 859, 867.

Walker.—*Nos.* 71, 76, 84, 140, 205, 285, 310, 332, 351, 395, 448, 452, 471, 472, 516, 545, 548, 575, 591, 636, 692, 702, 718, 719, 720, 817, 921, 983.

WALKER & KNIGHT.—*Nos.* 96, 105, 275, 587, 796, 810.

LAWRIE & WHITTLE.—*Nos.* 58, 353, 511, 551, 581, 730, 747, 897, 959.

WILLIAMSON.—*Nos.* 143, 222, 274, 334, 355, 400, 415, 428, 446, 504, 646, 729, 760, 871, 879, 908, 931, 955, 966, 979, 988.

HONE.—*Nos.* 5, 335, 526, 550, 570, 609.

BLACKLOCK.—*Nos.* 827, 969, 972.

MCCLEARY.—*Nos.* 18, 106, 146, 262, 314, 361, 462, 463, 470, 588, 597, 635, 658, 703, 804, 813, 920.

HATCHARD.—*Nos.* 28, 311, 441, 512, 612, 762.

ALLEN.—*Nos.* 47, 162, 278, 279, 337, 680.

JONES.—*Nos.* 51, 123, 437, 449, 487, 577, 633, 655, 695, 727, 728, 732, 743, 773, 825.

TIPPER.—*Nos.* 122, 188, 190, 193, 284, 297, 381, 454, 455, 456, 460, 476, 675, 772, 787, 795, 809, 848.

HUGHES.—*Nos.* 149, 289, 453, 618, 640, 674, 834.

FAIRBURN.—*Nos.* 147, 417, 440, 625, 668.

ASPERNE.—*Nos.* 256, 263, 756.

MARTIN.—*Nos.* 125, 578.

HARRILD.—*Nos.* 277, 402, 797.

MAYER.—*Nos.* 435, 750.

SIDEBOTHAM.—*Nos.* 62, 132, 268, 290.

PALSER.—*Nos.* 63, 309, 842.

SMEETON.—*Nos.* 212, 313, 388, 569, 763.

ORME.—*Nos.* 68, 615.

BADCOCK.—*Nos.* 21, 537, 914, 990.

BALDWYN.—*Nos.* 616, 892.

MCLEAN.—*Nos.* 553, 788, 935.

VERNOR.—*Nos.* 371, 861.

BATE.—*Nos.* 158, 327.

WALLIS.—*Nos.* 249, 812, 975.

CRIBB.—*Nos.* 322, 379, 779.

WILSON.—*Nos.* 566, 568.

Names occurring only once are not included.

APPENDIX D

FRENCH CARICATURES

PUBLISHERS—

M., Martinet; G., Genty; D., Depeuille.

COLLECTIONS—

* Broadley; † Le Roux: B. M., British Museum; B. N., Bibliothèque Nationale; C., Musée Carnavalet. (The reference to the extensive collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée Carnavalet is given only in default of any other.)

The French title in the majority of cases is rendered literally and tersely. When it consists of more or less *à propos* dialogue, exclamations, tropes, &c., the leading idea of the print is conveyed by the English word or two. Where there is a *jeu de mots* both words are given, with a colon between.

The spelling of the French title is retained.

References from one Appendix to another are made throughout by initial and number: A. 29, D. 70, E. 60, F. 12, &c.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
	A.		
1	Abdication, The (Ma position est mordante, &c.)	April 1814	*
2	Additional Act (Acte additionnel, &c.). *Aquatint*	July 1815	B. M. *
3	Allegorical Subject (Sujet allégorique)	Spring 1815	B. N.
4	Allegory (Allégorie relative à Buonaparte), by V. M. Picot	End 1797	*
5	Allies, The (Les alliés ou le candelabre moderne)	1814	*
—	Allies' Extinguisher. *See* No. 373.		
6	Allies' Oven, The (Le four des alliés)[1]	Spring 1814	*
	Allies, *and see* High.		
7	Ambition and gluttony (L'ambition et la gourmandise)	July 1815	B. N.
8	*Amours of Jupiter-Scapin:* Frontispiece to;	Tiger; 1815	*
	And see Discovery		
9	Anglo-French bantling, The (Le poupard anglo-français)	March 1815	* †
10	Anglo-Prussian dethroned, The (L'anglo-prussien détrôné)	August 1806	*
11	*Anti-Napoleon:* Frontispiece to;	Tiger; 1815	*
12	April shower, An (La giboulée de mars)	Spring 1815	†
13	Arrival at Elba (Arrivée . . . dans l'Ile d'Elbe)	Spring 1814	B. M. *
14	Arrival at the Tuileries (Arrivée . . . aux tuilleries)	March 1815	C. *
15	Arrival, &c., of an émigré (L'arrivée, le séjour, le départ d'un émigré)	M.; March 1815	*

16	Arrival of the Duke of Cambridge (L'arrivée du Duc de Cambridge, &c.)	M.; end	1803	*
17	Ass's Kick, The (1) (Le coup de pied de l'âne)	M.; July	1815	* †
18	Ass's Kick, The (2) (Le coup de pied de l'âne), by E. H. Langlois		1820	*
—	At last Bonaparte. *See* Descent.			
19	Audience of the Sovereign of the Isle of Mines (Audience du Souverain de l'Ile des Mines)	M.;	1814	*
—	Avenging God. *See* Dream.			

B.

20	Backbiting (Le coup de griffe)	—		†
21	Bad joke, A (La mauvaise charge)	—		†
22	Balance of Europe, The (La balance de l'Europe)	M.; Spring	1815	B. N.
23	Beginning and the end, The (Le commencement et la fin)	March	1815	B. M. *
24	Beginning of the end, The (Le commencement de la fin)		1797–8	*
25	Big drum of Europe, The (La grosse caisse de l'Europe) [2]	July	1815	B. M. *
26	Big jump: fool, The (O, le grand sot: saut)	July	1815	*
27	Bill-poster, The (Le père La Violette afficheur, &c.)		1816	*
28	Bird is flown, The (L'oiseau envolé)	March	1815	* †
29	Blind man's buff (Le colin-maillard)	March	1815	* †
30	Blowing bubbles (Ah, papa, les belles bulles, &c.) [3]	Spring	1814	B. M. *
—	Bonaparte the Corsican. *See* Pillory.			

[1] Reduced copy of Cruikshank's plate, A. 9.

[2] Adapted from the English print, A. 291; and *cf.* A. 667.

[3] Copy of German print, E. 6.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
—	Bon-à-part. *See* Game of Puss-in-the-Corner.			
—	*Bouillotte.* *See* Game of;			
—	Boulevard de Gand. *See* Coblentz.			
31	Box of Pandora, The (La boîte de Pandore)	Summer	1815	B. N.
32	Breakneck, The (Le casse-cou)	June	1815	B. N.
33	Broken pitcher, The (Tant va la cruche, &c.)	Spring	1814	B. M. *
34	Bunch of violets, The (Voilà le bouquet !)	Autumn	1815	B. M.
35	Buonaparte at Waterloo (Buonaparte au Mont St. Jean)	July	1815	B. M. *
36	Buonaparte in the bath (Buonaparte au bain)	Spring	1814	*
37	Buonaparte's Will (Testament de Buonaparte)	Autumn	1815	*
	C.			
38	Cæsar in his palace (César dans son palais)		1817	B. M. *
39	Cæsar of 1815, The (Le César de 1815)	July	1815	*
40	Café d'Orange, The (Café d'Orange à Plymouth)	July	1798	C.
41	Cake cut at Vienna, The (Le gâteau tiré . . . de Vienne) . . . . *And see* Twelfth Cake.	Spring	1815	†
	Cambacérès. *See* Abdication; Ambition; Broken; Carnival; Consular; Consultation; Charon's; Corsican Minotaur; Departure of the; End of the world (1) and (2); Menagerie; Removal; Restitution; To Versailles; Woe.			

42	Captivity of Napoleon, The (Détails des maux, &c.)		1821	B. N.
43	Carnival of 1814, The (Le carnaval de 1814)	February	1814	B. M. *
44	Castles in Spain (Les châteaux en Espagne)	G. ;	1812	B. M. *
45	Caulaincourt : Colin runs (Colin-court)	Spring	1804	*
46	Chained tiger, The (Le tigre enchaîné)	G. ; July	1815	*
47	Charon's wherry (La barque de Caron). *Aquatint* [1]	End	1815	B. M. *
48	Cheese of St. Helena, The (Je mange un fameux fromage)		1816	B. M. *
49	Coblentz-the-little (Le petit Coblence) Isabey *del.*	End	1795	C. *
—	Cockade. *See* I wore it.			
50	Combing his hair ! (Le coup de peigne)	July	1815	B. M. *
51	Coming of the royalists (Venue des royalistes)	Summer	1815	†
52	Comrades, I fly for help (Camarades, je vais chercher du renfort) .	March	1815	*
53	Congress, The (Le Congrès)	Spring	1815	†
54	*Confessions of Napoleon :* Frontispiece to ;		1816	*
55	Constitutional France (La France constitutionelle)	May	1815	B. N.
56	Consular trio, The (Dans le sac) [2]		1800	*
57	Consulate, The (Le Consulat)		1802	*
58	Consultation, The (La consultation)	May	1815	B. M. *
59	Corsican Minotaur, The (Le minotaure corse)	End	1813	*
60	*Corsican Ogre, The :* Frontispiece to Vol. I.	Louis ;	1815	*
61	*Corsican Ogre, The :* Frontispiece to Vol. II.	Louis ;	1815	*
	And for alternative frontispiece to Vol. I., *see* Ogre.			
62	Corsican shuttlecock, The (Le volant corse) [3]	May	1814	*

[1] Alternative title : Jugement dernier (The Last Judgment). After Michael Angelo's painting.

[2] See No. 334.

[3] Reduced copy of Cruikshank's plate, A. 233.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
63	Courage ! (Du courage ! en avant, marche !)	March 1815	*
64	Courier of the Rhine, The (Le courier du Rhin) [1]	End 1813	B. M. *
65	Court-martial, The (Cour martiale assemblée, &c.) [2]	April 1813	*
66	*Crimes and trespasses of Napoleon Bonaparte :* Frontispiece to ; . .	Davi ; 1816	*
67	Cringing dogs, The (Les chiens couchans)	Sept. 15, 1815	B. N.
68	Cry of Paris, The (Cri de Paris)	Beaublé ; 1815	*
—	Cyrus. *See* Cringing, *and* Sporting.		
	D.		
—	Dance. *See* English ; Imperial ; *and* You've got to.		
69	Dark room, The (Le cabinet noir)	March 1815	*
70	Departure, The (Le départ)	Spring 1815	†
71	Departure for Elba (Départ pour l'Ile d'Elbe)	May 1814	B. M. *
72	Departure for the Army (Départ pour l'Armée)	June 1815	B. N.
73	Departure of the little corporal (Le départ du petit caporal) . . .	July 1815	*
74	Departure and the return, The (Le départ et le retour) . . . . . Departure ; *and see* Desired ; Sudden ; Mr. Simple-town.	May 1814	*
75	Descent, The (Allons !—La descente m'arrête)	M. ; 1803	*
76	Descent in England, The (Enfin Bonaparte met à éxécution, &c.) .	August 1815	B. M. *
77	Descents from the cross (Les descentes de croix)	—	†

78	Design for a tomb (Projet de tombeau)	August	1815	*
79	Desired departure, The (Le départ souhaité)	March	1815	* †
80	Deserter, The (Le déserteur)	July	1815	*
81	Despair of Louis the fat (Le désespoir du Gros-Louis)	March	1815	†
82	Despair of Mme. Bertrand (Désespoir de Mme. Bertrand)	August	1815	*
83	Despair of the English (Désespoir des Anglais, &c.)	D.;	1798	*
84	Despair of the wooden-leg maker (Désespoir du tourneur en jambes de bois)	Spring	1814	—
85	Despatch from the English Fleet (Dépêche de la flotte anglaise) .	M.; D.; May	1805	C. *
86	Destiny of France, The (Le destin de la France)	May	1815	* †
87	Devil take him, The (Le diable l'emporte)	July	1815	B. M. *
88	Diabolo, The (Dieu, soit loué, &c.)	July	1815	B. M. *
89	'Discovery, The' [Scène intime]. Plate from No. 8		1815	*
90	Don Quixote in the South (Le Don Quichotte du Midi)	—		†
91	Drake's flight (Sir F. Drake fuyant de Munich)	Spring	1804	*
92	Dream, The (Le songe)	End	1815	B. M. *

E.

93	Each in turn (Chacun son tour)	March	1815	* †
94	Elba barber, The (Le barbier de l'Ile d'Elbe)	Summer	1814	*
95	Elba Robinson Crusoe, The (Le Robinson de l'Ile d'Elbe)	Summer	1814	*
—	Elba; *and see* Arrival; Beginning; Bird; Departure; Grasp All (2); Imperial stride; Nicholas Philoctetes; Return; Sire-conscription; Smoker; Visit; Voyage.			

[1] Copy of E. 18.

[2] Reduced copy of Cruikshank's plate, A. 17, with excisions.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
96	Empire to sell, An (Un empire à vendre, &c.) [1]	November 1813	—
97	Empty snuff-box, The (J'ai tout perdu)	June 1815	B. N.
98	End of the world, The (1) (La fin du monde)	Spring 1814	*
99	End of the world, The (2) (La fin du monde) . . . . . *And see* Woe.	Spring 1814	C.
100	English dance, The (Nicolas dansant l'anglaise) [2]	July 1815	B. M. *
101	Ex-senator, The (L'ex-sénateur)	1814	B. M. *
—	Extinguishers. *See* Each; Genius; Futile; Elba barber; He returns; Napoleon, real; Royal; Twilight.		
	F.		
102	Fall, The (Ah, papa, tu t'es fait bien du mal !)	April 1814	*
103	Fall of the modern Titan (La chûte du Titan moderne)	April 1814	B. M.
104	Fall of the Tyrant (Chûte du tyran)	June 1815	B. M.*
105	Famished author, The (L'auteur affamé)	1815	†
106	Famous tiger, The (Le fameux tigre)	Sept. 1, 1814	B. M.
—	Father La Violette (Le père La Violette). *See* Bill-poster; Rag-picker (1) and (2); Federate.		
107	Feast of the innocents, The (La fête des innocents)	End 1813	*
108	Federate ruffian, The (Le casse-gueule fédéré)) . . . . . *And see* Three.	April 1815	*

109	Fifth and last trick (Cinquième et dernier tour, &c.)	July	1815	B. M. *
110	First love (Et l'on revient toujours, &c.) [3]		1814	*
111	Force of habit (La force de l'habitude)	Spring	1816	*
112	Forced march, The (Marche précipitée de l'armée russe)	End	1806	—
113	Foot of the hermit (Pied de l'ermite de Ste. Hélène)		1816	*
114	France avenged (La France vengée)	Autumn	1815	B. N.
115	France delivered (La France délivrée)	April	1814	*
116	France outraged (La France outragée)	August	1815	*
117	Francis II. off to war (François II. partant pour la guerre)	M. ;	1805	*
118	French barber at Vienna, The (Le perruquier français à Vienne)	End	1808	—
119	Frog-catching extraordinary (Grande chasse aux grenouilles)		1802	*
—	From bottom to top. *See* New Titan.			
120	From top to bottom (Du haut en bas)	April	1814	B. M. *
121	Fruitless scarecrow, The (L'épouvantail inutile)	End	1813	*
122	Futile efforts (Efforts impuissans, &c.)	March	1815	* †

G.

—	Gambler. *See* Napoleon and Fate.			
123	Game of all-fours, A (Une partie d'impériale)	Summer	1806	* †
124	Game of *bouillotte*, A (La bouillotte)	April	1815	*
125	Game of *pétengueule*, A (Le jeu du pétengueule)	April	1815	* †
126	Game of political faro, A (Jeu de pharon politique)	Basset ;	1799	C.
127	Game of puss-in-the-corner, A (1) (Le jeu des quatre coins)		1808	B. M. * †

[1] Issued in London as well, with French title ; see A. 303.
[2] Analogies in A. 778, D. 179, E. 67, F. 31, G. 7, G. 8.
[3] German source ; *see* E. 35.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
128	Game of puss-in-the-corner, A (2) (Le jeu des quatre coins) . . .	July 1815	B. N.
129	Game of rings, A (Le jeu du lapin)	G. ; July 1815	*
—	Game ; *and see* Russian ; Small.		
130	General cry, The (Le cri général, C'est Bouffe-la-balle) [1]	Beaublé ; 1815	*
131	General Jacot (Le général Jacot, &c.)	Autumn 1815	B. M. *
132	Général Sans-pareil [2]	Summer 1815	—
133	Genius of France, The (Le génie de la France, &c.)	July 1815	*
134	George untoothed (Georges édenté)	M. ; Dec. 1807	B. M.
135	George's awakening (Le réveil de Georges)	M. ; 1804	*
136	George's dream (Le rêve de Georges) [3]	M. ; 1804	*
137	George's indigestion (L'indigestion de Georges)	November 1803	C.
138	George's playthings (Les joujoux de Georges)	M. ; 1804	*
139	George III.'s advice (Conseil de Georges III.)	1804	—
	And see King George.		
140	' Geusar ' [Anagram of ' Raguse,' Marmont's dukedom]	Spring 1814	*
141	Glorious reign of 19 years (Glorieux règne de 19 ans, &c.)	April 1815	* †
142	Glory's apex (Rien ne manque plus à sa gloire)	M. ; Nov. 1801	C.
143	Ghost, The (Le revenant)	March 1815	* †
144	Good joke, The (La bonne charge)	—	†
145	Good old times, The (Oh, le bon vieux temps, &c.)	—	†

146	Grand army lengthens, &c., The (La grande armée agrandit, &c.) .	Summer	1806	*
147	Grand crusade, The (La grande croisade des impuissants)		1815	†
148	Grasp all, lose all (1) (Qui trop embrasse, &c.)	September	1803	C.
149	Grasp all, lose all (2) (Qui trop embrasse, &c.) [4]	Spring	1814	*
150	Greasy pole, The (Le mat de cocagne) [5]	Autumn	1815	*
151	Greasy pole, The (Le mat de cocagne). *Variant*		1815	Jost
152	Great anger of John Bull (Grande colère de John Bull)	M. ;	1803	*
153	Great distribution of brooms (Grande distribution de balais) . . .	March	1815	* †
—	Great God. *See* 'Tis he.			
154	Great sinner : Fisherman, The (Le grand pécheur : pêcheur) . . .	Spring	1816	*
155	Guard dies, The (Le Garde meurt et ne se rend pas)	August	1815	B. M. *
	H.			
156	He is arrived ! (Il est arrivé, sauvons-nous !)	March	1815	†
157	He returns more (ventri-) potent than ever ! (Il revient plus *puissant* que jamais !)	July	1815	†
158	He wipes big facings : he sustains great reverses (Il *essuie* de grands *revers*)	Early	1814	*
159	Head and the Brain, The (La tête et la cervelle)	Autumn	1804	C.
160	Hearsay (On dit). By P. B——	Spring	1814	*
—	Hesse-Cassel. *See* Prince of ; *and* Anglo-Prussian.			

[1] *I.e.* "Puff the ball," the nickname given to General Hullin, Governor of Paris, on account of the swelling in his cheek caused by a pistol-ball received in a duel with General Mallet. Companion plate to No. 68.
[2] Issued in France, England, Germany, and Italy. See A. 388, E. 42, and F. 26.
[3] Companion plate to preceding. [4] Analogies in A. 32, 412 ; F. 66 ; H. 71. [5] Original of A. 10 and its variants.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
161	Hi, presto, disappear ! (Partez, muscade !)	1815	†
162	*Hic tempestates nuntiat ; ille sedat.* Forestier *inv.*	Moisy ; 1810	*
163	High Allies, The (Les hauts alliés)	Early 1813	*
164	History of France, 1793–1815 (Ah, ah, c'est l'histoire, &c.) . . .	December 1815	*
165	History of the great Nicholas (Histoire du grand Nicolas)	September 1815	*
166	Hold him fast ! (Tenez le bien)	July 1815	B. M. *
167	Horoscope of England, The (L'horoscope de l'Angleterre)	M. ; 1801	Hautecœur
168	How they drive me ! (Ah, comme il me font aller !)	—	†
	I.		
169	I am frightened (Je suis effrayé)	D. ; 1797	*
170	I am on thorns (Je suis sur les épines) [1]	Spring 1814	*
171	I am overjoyed (Je suis ravi de joye) [2]	D. ; 1797	*
—	I came, &c. *See* Cæsar.		
172	I seize the coasts : chops (Je m'empare des *côtes*)	M. ; July 1802	C.
173	I take back my cap (Je reprends mon bonnet)	March 1815	* †
174	I take back my cap (Je reprends mon bonnet) [3]	March 1815	*
175	I wore it at Marengo (Je la portois à Marengo)	M. ; March 1815	B. N.
176	I wore it at Marengo (Celle-ci, je l'avois à Marengo) [4]	March 1815	B. N.

177	Imperial breakfast, The (Le déjeuner impérial)	M.; March	1815	B. N.
178	Imperial conduct (Conduite impériale)	July	1815	B. M. *
179	Imperial dance, The (La danse impériale)	July	1815	B. M. *
180	Imperial skipper, The (Le sauteur impérial) [5]	July	1815	B. M. *
181	Imperial stride, The (L'enjambée impériale)	March	1815	* †
—	Indelible spots. *See* He wipes.			
182	Independent monkeys, The (Les singes indépendans)		1820	*
183	Indigestible pie, The (Le pâté indigeste)	April	1815	B. M. †
—	Invalids. *See* We're returning.			
184	Ivanhoe working about (Ivanoë au travail)	M.;	1827	*

J.

185	Jay stripped, The (Le geai dépouillé, &c.) [6]	Spring	1814	*
—	Jealous. *See* Shuttlecock.			
186	Journal of the Empire (Journal de l'empire ou des débats) . . .	Spring	1815	*
187	Just inequality, The (L'inégalité juste)		1806	C.
188	Justice and revenge (La justice et la vengeance)	July	1815	C.
189	Justice due to valour (La justice rendue au courage)	—		†
190	Justice pursuing crime (La justice poursuivant le crime) [7]	July	1815	*

[1] Original of F. 30.
[2] Companion plate to No. 169.
[3] The preceding in miniature, with added groups and emblems.
[4] Variant: a sapper instead of a grenadier.
[5] Derived from H. 59.
[6] Reduced copy, with excisions, of A. 257.
[7] Parody of Pierre Prud'hon's painting, 'Divine Justice pursuing Crime,' 1808.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
	K.		
191	King George jumping, &c. (Le roi Georges sautant, &c.)	Spring 1803	—
192	King of Prussia off to war, The (Le roi de Prusse allant à la guerre)	October 1806	C.
193	Kiss of Judas, The (Le baiser de Judas)	1814	*
194	Kiss that, Papa ! (Baisez-ça, Papa !)	Spring 1797	—
	L.		
195	Last effort, The (Le dernier effort du Nain Jaune)	June 1815	*
196	Last fall, The (La dernière chûte)	July 1815	B. M. *
197	Last home, The (Dernière demeure de Nicolas)	July 1815	B. M. *
—	Last Judgment. *See* Charon's wherry.		
198	Last spring, The (Le dernier élan d'un grand homme)	August 1815	B. M. *
199	Leap for the king (Saute pour le roi !) [1]	April 1814	*
200	Let us defend our King (Allons défendre notre roi)	March 1815	†
201	Liberator, The (Porté par la Liberté, &c.), by Lelarge	June 1815	*
202	Light of the 19th Century, The (La lumière du XVIIII. Siècle) . .	July 1815	*
203	Lily, The (Le Lis, le 10 Mai, 1815)	May 1815	*
204	Lily and the Violet, The (Le Lys et la Violette)	M.; March 1815	B. N.
205	Lily confessing the Violet, The (Le Lys confessant la Violette) . .	Spring 1815	†
206	Little crusade, The (La petite croisade de 1815)	Summer 1815	†

207	Little man is still alive, The (Le petit bonhomme vit encore) . .	Summer	1815	†
208	Little red man nursing his son, The (Le petit homme rouge berçant son fils) [2]		1814	B. M.
[209	Loiterers by Martinet's Print-shop (Les musards de la rue du Coq) [3]	M.;	1802	*]
210	Long nose, The (Le pied de nez dédié aux aristocrates) . . . . . *And cf.* Pitt.	—		†
211	Lord Morpeth in flight (Trait de prudence de Lord Morpeth) . . .	M.;	1806	*
212	Low and cringing man, The (L'homme bas et rampant)	July	1815	*
	M.			
213	Mack nonplussed (Mack à bout) [4]	November	1805	—
214	Madame Angot (Madame Angot, grosse de l'avenir)	Spring	1800	C.
215	Magic Lantern, The (La lanterne magique)	M.; Sept.	1805	C. *
—	Malta. *See* Despair of the English, *and* Situation.			
216	Man with the six heads, The (L'homme aux 6 têtes) [5]		1815	†
217	*Man in the little hat, The:* Frontispiece to;	Summer	1821	*
—	Manner of seeing. *See* Ex-senator.			
218	Mantua is taken (Mantoue est pris, &c.) [6]	March	1797	*
219	March gale, A (L'ouragan de mars)	March	1815	†
220	March of the English government (Marche du gouvernement anglais) *And see* Forced.	Spring	1804	*

[1] *Cf.* No. 26 and No. 180. [2] Adapted from E. 23. [3] By Bosio. An English reproduction, issued by Tegg, is dated 1814.
[4] 'By a Dragoon of the 2nd Regiment.' [5] Talleyrand, as the leading 'weathercock'; *cf.* No. 272.
[6] For sequel, see F. 23, which was issued with a bilingual inscription, and was probably suggested by the above.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
221	Memorable deeds of Nicholas (Faits mémorables de Nicolas) . . .	Spring 1815	*
222	Menagerie, The (La ménagerie de la rue impériale)	August 1815	B. N.
223	Meteor, The (Le météore du mois de mars)	March 1815	* †
224	Mind your crown (Gare à ta couronne !)	M. ; July 1803	C.
225	Mirror of truth, The (Le miroir de la vérité)	G. ; July 1815	*
226	Monks of Madrid removing (Le déménagement des moines de Madrid)	M. ; 1808	*
227	Mr. All-things-to-all-men (Mr. Tout-à-tous) [1]	M. ; Spring 1815	*
228	Mr. Gull and Doubting Thomas (Mr. Gobe-mouche et Thomas l'incrédule)	M. ; June 1815	*
229	Mr. Ranter (Mr. de la Rodomontade) [2]	April 1815	†
230	Mr. Simple-town leaves Paris (Départ de Paris de Mr. de la Jobardière) [2]	April 1815	†
231	Mr. and Mrs. Shallow-pate (Mr. et Mme. de Génie-court) [2]	April 1815	†
	N.		
232	Napoleon and Fate (Napoléon et le destin)	End 1813	B. N.
233	'Napoleon preparing to hang Louis.' (No title)	Spring 1815	†
234	Napoleon real Grand Master (Napoléon véritable grand maître, &c.)	July 1815	†
235	'Napoleon with a long nose' (No title) [3]	1814	*

236	Nasal pressure : *Ney's al*-legiance (Serrement de nez : serment de Ney)	March	1815	B. M. *
237	*Ne plus ultra* of cannibalism, The (Le *nec plus ultra* du cannibalisme)	July	1815	*
238	New affair of Cannes : ducks (Nouvelle affaire de Cannes : canes)	March	1815	B. N.
239	New Robinson Crusoe, The (Le nouveau Robinson, &c.) [4]	Spring	1816	B. M. *
240	New Titan, The (Du bas en haut)	July	1815	B. M. *
241	Nicholas Philoctetes (Nicolas Philoctète)	Summer	1814	*
242	Nicholas Tiger-heart (Nicolas cœur de tigre)		1816	B. N.
	And see Arrival at the Tuileries ; English dance ; History ; Last effort ; Last home ; Memorable.			
	O.			
243	Oath of the new Horatii (Le serment des nouveaux Horaces) . .	—		†
244	Ogre is captured, The (L'ogre est pris !)	Louis	1815	*
245	Olive-branch, The (L'olive de la paix, &c.). Maleuvre *del. et sc.* .	Early	1813	B. M. *
246	Origin of the quench-coal (Origine de l'étouffoir impérial)	July	1815	*
247	Over-indulgence (Quand on a trop pris, il faut rendre)	March	1815	* †
	P.			
248	Packing off (L'emballement des *gens bons*)	Spring	1815	†
249	Panic fear of the English (Terreur panique des Anglais)	M. ;	1803	*
250	Papa's cap (C'est la casquette à Papa)	March	1815	†

[1] Talleyrand, at the Congress of Vienna.
[2] Typical émigrés in the train of Louis XVIII. on his flight to Ghent.
[3] Original of H. 45. Nose as in No. 271.
[4] German source ; *see* E. 93, footnote.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
251	Papa's necktie (C'est la cravate à Papa)	Summer 1814	*
252	Parade, A (Une parade)	Spring 1815	B. N.
253	Past, present and future (Le passé, le présent, l'avenir)	—	†
254	Peace of Europe, The (La paix de l'Europe)	April 1814	*
255	Pear was ripe, The (La poire était mûre)	Spring 1815	B. N.
256	People's fillip, The (La chiquenaude du peuple), by Hennequin .	1795	*
257	Petrifaction (La pétrification)	D.; 1797	*
258	'Pillory-phrenology' (Pilori-phrénologie), by A. Bellogne	Grognet; 1836	*
259	Pitt, pitiable, and spited (Pitt, pitteux, dépité, &c.)	M.; Spring 1806	*
260	Pitt's awakening (Réveil de Pitt)	End 1805	B. M. *
261	Pitt's death (Mort de Pit) (*sic*)	M.; Spring 1806	*
262	Pitt's dream (Rêve de Pitt) [1]	Autumn 1805	—
263	Pitt's long nose (Le pied de nez de milord Pitt)	M.; Spring 1806	B. M. * †
264	Plan of campaign of 1806 (Le plan de campagne de 1806)	M.; 1806	*
265	Political Degen, The (Le Degen politique) [2]	1813	*
266	Prefects and mayors (Les préfets et les maires, &c.)	Spring 1815	*
267	Press laboratory, The (L'officine des journaux)	April 1814	*
268	Pretenders, The (Les prétendans)	1820	* †
269	Prince of Hesse-Cassel driving his little trade, The (Le Prince de Hesse-Cassel fesant son petit commerce)	1806	*

270	Prometheus of St. Helena, The (Le Prométhée de l'Ile de Ste. Hélène) [3]	End	1815	B. M.
271	Proposed Constitution (Proposition de Constitution)		1816	B. M. *
272	Provisional Government, The (Le gouvernement provisoire) . . .	April	1814	*
273	Prussian puncture, A (La ponction prussienne)		1806	*
—	Puzzle-pictures. *See* (1) Violets and lilies; (2) Broken pitcher; Foot; Man in the little hat; Meteor; 'Triumph of 1813'; Talma; *and* Woe.			
	Q.			
274	Quarrel in Spain, The (Le démélé en Espagne)	M.;	1808	*
275	Quick, discard your glove: Ghent! (Eh, vite, sortez de votre gant: Gand!)	June	1815	†
276	Quick, he's coming! (Hé! hé! vite, il arrive!)	March	1815	†*
	R.			
277	Rag-picker, The (1) (La Violette, chiffonier, &c.)	June	1815	B. N.
278	Rag-picker, The (2) (Le père La Violette, chiffonier, &c.)	June	1815	*
279	Rats won't have him (C'est à qui n'en veut pas, &c.)	Spring	1816	*
—	Rats. *And see* Bill-poster; Force of habit; Great sinner; Proposed; Repentant; Triumphal Entry.			

[1] Companion plate to No. 260.

[2] Jacob Degen was a Viennese watchmaker, who in 1809–10 experimented with a flying-machine consisting of two wing-shaped planes worked by the hands and feet.

[3] Derived from A. 578.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
280	Reading the papers (La lecture des journaux) [1]	May 1815	* †
281	Reckoning, The (L'écot), by Ruotte [2]	Rolland ; 1797	*
282	Red man, The (L'homme rouge arrête les derniers efforts, &c.) . . *And see* Little.	1816	*
283	Religion on a cloud (La religion sur un nuage), by N. Courbe . . .	Courbe ; 1814	*
284	Removal, The (J'ai trop longtemps chancelé)	Spring 1814	B. M.
—	Removal. *And see* Monks.		
285	Repentant smoker, The (Je fume en pleurant mes péchés)	G. ; 1816	B. M. *
286	Restitution, The (La restitution) [3]	April 1814	C. *
287	Return from Elba (Retour de l'Ile d'Elbe)	March 1815	B. M. *
288	Return of Bonaparte (Retour de Bonaparte)	March 1815	C.
289	Revenge, The (La révanche)	April 1814	*
290	Review of the general officers (Revue des officiers généraux) . . .	March 1815	—
291	Royal extinguisher, The (L'éteignoir royal)	Spring 1815	†
292	Ruined wax-work maker, The (La ruine du fabricant de cire) . .	September 1815	*
293	Russian game, A (Une partie russe)	M. ; 1806	*
	S.		
294	Sacrifice of Napoleon Buonaparte (Sacrifice de Napoléon Buonaparte au Mont St. Jean)	G. ; June 1815	B. M.

—	Sack. *See* Consular Trio, *and* Three of a kind.			
—	Saint-Helena. *See* (1) Rats ; (2) Cæsar ; Captivity ; Cheese ; Foot ; France avenged ; Nicholas Tiger-heart ; Prometheus ; Red Man.			
—	St. John. *See* Vision, *and* Ass's kick (2).			
295	St. Lambert's day (C'est aujourd'hui la Saint-Lambert)	April	1814	*
—	St. Roch. *See* Revenge.			
296	Salutary Crisis, The (La crise salutaire)	Spring	1814	B. M. *
297	Satisfaction (La satisfaction) [4]	D. ;	1797	*
298	Sauve qui peut !	M. ; March	1815	* †
299	Scales, The (La bascule)	—		†
300	Scales of Time, The (Son nom paraîtra, &c.)	July	1815	*
301	School of St.-Cyr : Five Kings (École de *Cinq-Sires*)	February	1815	*
302	Schoolboy beating a tattoo, The (L'écolier battant la retraite) . .	July	1815	*
303	Scene of the Deluge, A (Une scene du déluge, &c.), by ' Forioso ' .	End	1806	—
304	See-saw, The (Le tapecu)	April	1815	*
—	See-saw. *And see* Straw.			
305	*Serpens Afer*	April	1814	*
306	Shame and repentance (Honte et repentir)	M. ;	1805	*
307	Shave, The (Messieurs, avec quels rasoirs, &c.) [5]	July	1815	B. M. *
308	Shaving-day (Le jour de barbe) (1)	July	1815	B. M. *
309	Shaving-day (Le jour de barbe) (2). *Aquatint*	July	1815	*
310	Shepherd, The (Le berger)	Spring	1814	C.

[1] Source of A. 254.
[2] After Rastadt ; *see* F. 50, footnote.
[3] Issued also in London ; *see* A. 753.
[4] Companion plate to No. 257.
[5] Nos. 307–309 find analogies in A. 14, A. 205, A. 455 ; D. 50, D. 94, D. 118 ; E. 68, E. 69, E. 92 ; F. 2.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
311	Shuttlecock, The (Jaloux de leur plaisir) . . . . . *And see* Corsican.	April 1814	B. M. *
312	Sire-conscription: circumscription (Le *Sire-conscrit* dans l'Ile d'Elbe)	Summer 1814	B. M. *
313	Situation of the Maltese (Situation des Malthais) [1]	D.; 1798	*
314	Small game of society, A (Le petit jeu de société)	1815	†
315	Smoker, The (Je ne prise plus, je fume)	Summer 1814	*
316	Speculators and politicians (Vive le roi! les spéculateurs et les politiques en défaut)	1814	v. Stolk
317	Sporting dogs, The (Les chiens de chasse) [2]	October 5, 1815	*
318	Spring, The (Le printemps, &c.)	April 1815	* †
319	Spring of 1815, The (Le printemps de 1815)	March 1815	* †
320	Star of March 20th, The (L'étoile du 20 Mars) [3]	March 1815	B. N.
321	Straw, The (Le brin de paille) [4]	April 1815	B. N.
322	Street-cleaning (Grand nettoyage pour la rentrée du roi)	July 1815	*
323	Sudden flight (Fuite précipitée)	March 1815	* †
324	Sudden departure, The (Le départ précipité et le retour imprévu) .	March 1815	* †
325	Swing-boat, The (La balançoire)	April 1815	B. M. *

T.

326	Talma giving Napoleon a lesson (T. donnant une leçon, &c.) . . .		1813	*
327	Talma and Napoleon (practical heads) [5]		1821	*
328	Temper (La colère ou le vilain enfant)	—		†
329	They are hot (Ils ont chaud)	Summer	1814	*
330	They make for the flame (Ils viennent se brûler, &c.)	June	1815	B. M. *
331	They say I've lost my crown (Ils disent que j'ai perdu ma couronne)	—		†
332	This comes of having a heart (Voilà ce que c'est que d'avoir du cœur)	July	1815	*
333	Three Federates, The (Les trois fédérés)	June	1815	*
334	Three of a kind (Dans le sac) [6]		1812	—
335	Three ruffians (Trois lurons et l'ombre d'un brave)		1815	†
336	Thus does ambition ruin a man (Voilà comme l'ambition perd l'homme)		1813	v. Stolk
—	Tiger. *See* Chained, *and* Nicholas.			
337	'Tis he ! (Grand dieu, c'est lui !)	April	1815	v. Stolk
338	To Versailles ! (A Versailles !)		1815	*
339	Toasts, The (Les toasts)	M. ; Spring	1815	C.
340	Treason unmasking (La trahison se démasquant)	M. ;	1806	*
341	Triumph of the lilies (Le triomphe des lys)	Summer	1814	*
342	'Triumph of the Year 1813.' (No title) [7]	Spring	1814	*

[1] Companion plate to No. 83.
[2] Companion plate to No. 67. Front and back of medal.
[3] *Cf.* No. 223 and I. 8.
[4] *Cf.* A. 798.
[5] Issued at Paris and in London ; *see* A. 833.
[6] Later version of No. 56 : Bonaparte and Lebrun are replaced by Vieilleville and d'Aigrefeuille.
[7] The German hieroglyphic portrait ; *see* E. 121, &c.

No.	Short Title.—English and French.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
343	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (Le conquérant dévastateur) [1] . . .	Spring 1814	v. Stolk
344	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (No title) [2] Ve— *fecit*	Spring 1814	*
345	Triumphal entry, The (Entrée triomphante de Bonaparte, &c.) [3] .	February 1816	B. M. *
346	Triumphant entry of the birds of prey (Entrée triomphante des oiseaux de proie)	March 20, 1815	B. N.
347	Twelfth-Cake, The (Le gâteau des rois) . . . . . *And see* Cake.	March 1815	B. M. * †
348	Twilight, The (Le crépuscule)	Galliard; 1815	* †
349	Tyrant unmasked, The (Le tyran démasqué)	April 1814	*
	U.		
350	Universal Toast, The (Le vœu universel)	Bance; 1802	*
	V.		
351	Verminous sleeve, The (Ah, mon dieu, Papa, &c.)	June 1815	*
352	Veteran, The (Le vétéran françois)	April 1815	v. Stolk
353	Violet of 1815, The (La violette de 1815)	March 1815	†
354	Violets of March 20th (Violettes du 20 Mars). Canu *sc.*[4]	G.; March 1815	B. M. *
—	Violets. *And see* (1) Father La Violette; (2) Bunch; Lily; Meteor; Nasal; Spring; Street-cleaning; Windmill.		

355	Vision of St. John, The (La vision de St. John)		1816	B. N.
356	Visit to Elba, A (Une visite à l'Ile d'Elbe)		1814	†
357	Voyage to Elba (Voyage à l'Ile d'Elbe)	Summer	1814	* †
	W.			
358	Weathercock, The (La girouette)	March	1815	*
359	We're returning (Nous rentrons chez nous)	April	1815	* †
360	What a fall! (Quelle chûte)	July	1815	B. M. *
361	Who had said it? (Qui l'aurait dit?)	November	1803	C.
362	Who laughs last, &c. (1) (Rira bien, &c.)	M.; Sept.	1803	C.
363	Who laughs last, &c. (2) (Rira bien, &c.)		1815	†
364	Wind takes the lot, The (Autant en emporte le vent)	End	1813	*
365	Windmill, The (Les hommes à tout vent)	June	1815	B. N. *
366	Woe to men, woe to women! (Haine aux hommes, haine aux femmes!)		1814	v. Stolk
	Y.			
367	Year II., The (L'an II. de l'empire français)	Michel;	1805	C.
—	Yellow Dwarf. *See* Last effort.			
368	You must disgorge (Il faut dégorger)	—		†
369	You've got to dance (Il faut danser)	End	1796	*

[1] Variant. The Eagle in the hat is meant to be the French one.
[2] Variant. Beneath the portrait is a screech-owl ('La Chouette') and an 'N' within a star.
[3] Original of A. 463.
[4] Original of A. 209–212, A. 457; E. 105.

ADDITIONAL: FROM THE LATTA COLLECTION

No.	Short Title—English and French.	Date.
370	Corsican whipping-top, The (Le sabot corse en pleine déroute). *Copy of A. 239*	April 1814
371	Fencing-lesson, The (La leçon d'escrime). *Cf. E. 32*	1814
372	Gastronomes, The (Les gastronomes)	1814
373	Head of the Great Nation, &c., The (Le chef de la grande nation dans une triste position).[1] *Copy of A. 430*	December 1813
374	Last tubful, The (Le derniere cuvée). *Copy of A. 531*	June 1815
375	New farce, A (Nouvelle farce qui a été représentée à Paris avec éclat). *Copy of A. 265*	December 1813
376	Nightmare, A (Encore un cauchemar)	1815
377	Quadruple alliance, The (La quadruple alliance)	1814
378	Sancho Panza and Louis XVIII.	1815
379	Wish fulfilled, The (Le souhait accompli)	—

[1] Also published with title 'L'éteignoir des Alliés.'

APPENDIX E

GERMAN CARICATURES

COLLECTIONS—

* Broadley; C., Musée Carnavalet; B. N., Bibliothèque Nationale.

A § denotes caricatures of 1813–16 which were extensively reproduced in other countries, and especially served as originals for Italian and Dutch ones. These reproductions are indicated as far as possible in the footnotes.

A † denotes caricatures copied or adapted from Gillray and other British artists (and occasionally from the French), which appeared in the periodicals *London und Paris*, *Wien und Paris*, or *London, Wien und Paris*, with lettering in English, French, or German.

A ‡ denotes caricatures from the pencil of J. G. Schadow, issued in Germany, but signed by a fictitious 'Gilrai, Paris' or 'Gilray, London,' with the occasional addition of a spurious publisher. The lettering is French in almost every instance. The signature 'Gilroi'—*quasi* Gilles-roi, mock king—is not found, *pace* Schulze. Scrutiny shows the vowel to be an 'a' in every case.

The titles of the prints are rendered briefly, as in Appendix D. The German spelling is retained.

No.	Short Title.—English and German.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
—	'Ah, it's Mr. Nicholas!' *See* Fearful.			
1	†Armed Heroes. *Copy of A. 26.* Starke *sc.*		1803	*
2	†Assemblée Nationale, L'. *Copy of A. 29.* Starke *sc.*		1803	*
—	Barber's Shop. *See* Leipsig, *and* New European.			
3	Battle of Leipsig (Schlacht bey Leipzig). *Aquatint*		1813	*
4	*Belle Alliance*, The (La Belle Alliance)	July	1815	C.
5	*Belle Alliance* to sweep France (La Belle Alliance pour balayer la France). *Sequel*	July	1815	B. N.
6	§Blowing bubbles (Ah, Papa, welche schöne Seifenblasen!). By Voltz [1]	Spring	1814	—
7	Blowing bubbles (So zerstieben getrauemte Weltreiche!). *Variant*	Spring	1814	*
8	‡British pride (Brittischer Stolz)	—		*
9	Buonaparte's cowardly flight (Buonapartes feige Flucht)	July	1815	B. N.
10	Buonaparte's world-sovereignty (Buonapartes Weltherrschaft) . .		1812	*
11	†Britannia between Death and the Doctors. *Copy of A. 126* . . .		1804	—
12	Café Lisel, The (Kaffé Lisel). By A. L. Girardet	Campe;	1811	—
13	†Child and Champion of Jacobinism. *Copy of A. 176*		1801	—
14	Climacteric years of Buonaparte (Buonapartes Stuffenjahre). *Revised version of No. 119*	Campe;	1814	*

15	Climacteric years of Napoleon (Napoleons Stuffenjahre). *Variant of No. 119*		1814	*
16	Commencement of the *Finale* (Commencement du Finale). By Schadow. *Aquatint* [2]		1813	*
17	Congress of Vienna, The. By Voltz	February	1815	—
18	§Courier of the Rhine, The (Der Rheinische Courier, &c.) [3]	End	1813	*
19	Couriers untimely and importunate (Die zur Unzeit zudringliche Couriere)		1813	*
20	Cup of tribulation, The (Der Kelch der Leiden)		1813	*
21	Dame Gallia, recovered, pays her doctors' bills. By Hoffmann .		1814	—
22	Devil and the drinkers, The (Dies ist mein lieber Sohn, &c.) . . .		1813	*
23	§Devil's Darling, The (Das ist mein lieber Sohn, &c.) [4]	Spring	1814	*
24	†Destruction of the French gunboats. *Copy of A. 271*		1803	—
25	†Dutch Embarkation. *Copy of A. 293*		1804	—
—	Eagles. *See* Great Eagle ; Triumph of the French ; *and* Eighteen-Thirteen.			
26	'Eighteen-Thirteen' (1813 : Dieser zurückgestossener Adler, &c.)		1813	*
27	Entrance of the French into Paris (Einzug der Franzosen in Paris)		1814	*

[1] Derived from A. 700. Original of D. 30 ; F. 5 and 6 ; and I. 22.
[2] 'A Paris, chez Jeronimo Furioso.' There is a variant with 'A Paris, chez Furioso le Petit.'
[3] Original of A. 431 ; D. 64 ; F. 13 and 37.
[4] Original of A. 276 ; D. 208 ; H. 13 ; I. 23.

No.	Short Title.—English and German.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
28	Exorcisers, The. By Hoffmann	1815	—
29	†Extirpation of the plagues of Egypt. *Copy of A. 331*	1798	—
30	Faithful hangers-on, The (Die treuen Anhänger, &c.)	1814	*
31	Fearful robber's nest, The (Das fürchterliche Raubnest). By Voltz	Campe; 1815	*
32	Fencing-Lesson, The (Die Fechtstunde). *Aquatint.* Schadow *del.*; Buchhorn *sc.* [1]	1814	*
33	Firebrand, The (Buonaparte landete den 1[en] März 1815 zu Canne, &c.)	April 1815	*
34	†First kiss this ten years, The. *Copy of A. 343*	1803	—
35	§First Love (Alte Liebe rostet nicht) [2]	Schlemer; 1814	B. N.
36	Field-marshal Bianchi (Feldmarschall Bianchis Feldzug)	1815	*
37	†Flying sword run mad, The. *Adaptation of A. 560*	1803	*
38	French allegiance (Französische Treue)	Campe; 1815	*
39	†French invasion. *Copy of A. 366*	1803	*
40	†Game at Chess, A. *Copy of A. 382* [3]	1802	*
41	Gardener of the Tuileries, The (Der Gärtner der Tuilerien, &c.) .	1814	—
42	Général Sans Pareil [4]	1815	—
43	General Vandamme in Siberia (General Vandamme auf dem Zobelfang in Sibirien)	1813	*

44	Glimpses of the past and the future (Blicke in die Vergangenheit und Zukunft), by Voltz		1814	Jost
45	Great Cæsar, The (Der grosse Cæsar)	—		*
46	Great Eagle made to moult, The (Der grosse Adler in der gewaltsamer Mauser)		1814	*
47	§Great General and a little Emperor (Ein grosser General und ein kleiner Kaiser) [5]	April	1814	*
48	Great gravedigger, The (Der grosse Todtengräber)		1814	B. N.
49	Great Nation having recovered its Emperor, The (La grande Nation ayant de nouveau son grand Empereur, &c.). By Voltz		1815	—
50	Great national Ball (Grosser National-Ball)		1813	Jost
51	Great raven's feast, The (Das grosse Rabengastmahl bei Leipzig)		1813	*
52	‡Halle Gate, The (Das Hallische Dor, 22 August 1813)	Weiss ;	1813	*
53	Hares in Flight (Es war einst ein gewalt'ger Held, &c.)		1815	B. N. *
54	I am named Cerberus (Ich heisse Cerberus)	Henschel ;	1814	*
55	‡Jest and earnest at Paris (Scherz und Ernst aus Paris)		1815	*
56	†Jig round the statue of Peace, A. *Cf. A. 572*		1802	—
57	†John Bull at the sign 'The Case is Altered.' *Copy of A. 479*		1801	—

[1] Alternative title: Der Zweikampf (The Duel).
[2] Original of D. 110.
[3] With the addition of a symbolical picture on the wall.
[4] French source: see D. 132.
[5] Original of A. 413.

No.	Short Title.—English and German.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
58	†John Bull learning a new movement. *Copy of A. 490*		1801	*
59	†John Bull taking a luncheon. *Copy of A. 501*		1798	—
60	‡Joy of the Great Nation (Joye de la Grande Nation)	Weiss ;	1813	*
61	†King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver, The (1). *Copy of A. 522* . . .		1803	*
61*a*	King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver, The (Zu mir, nach Russland, kamest du, &c.). *Adaptation of A. 522* [1]		1813	v. Stolk
62	†King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver, The (2). *Copy of A. 523* . .		1804	*
63	†Kitchen below, The. *Adaptation of A. 230*		1803	*
64	Knight in armour and Napoleon, The. (No title)		1813	*
65	Landing, The (Napoleon Buonaparte und sein Anhang in der Gewalt der Engländer) [2]	August	1815	*
66	Landing of the Boulogne flotilla, The (Was lange währt wird gut) .	Campe ;	1815	*
67	Last dance, The (Der letzte Tantz !)		1814	*
68	Leipzig Barber's Shop, The (Die Leipziger Barbierstube), by Geissler		1813	Jost

69	Little Court, The (Des grossen Mannes kleine Hofhaltung)	February	1816	*
70	Little Emperor, The (Das Kaiserlein Napoleon, &c.)	Schlemer ;	1815	B. N.
71	Lucky hunter, The (1) (Der glückliche Jaeger) [3]		1813	*
72	§Lucky hunter, The (2) ('Diesen Bock habe *Ich* geschossen'), [4] by Voltz		1813	*
73	†Madame Angot grosse de l'avenir. *Copy of D. 214*		1800	—
74	Mankind's path of Culture (Der Culturgang des Menschengeschlechts)	Campe ;	1815	B. N.
75	Mender of crowns, The (Der Kronen-Flicker)		1813	*
76	Mop, The (Aus grenzenlosem Stolze, &c.) [5]	March	1814	*
77	Most heroic exploit of the 19th Century, The (Die grösste Heldenthat des neunzenden Iahrhunderts)	February	1816	*
78	‡Napoleon and Fortune (Napoleon und das Glück)		1813	*
79	Napoleon and the forget-me-not (Napoleon und das Vergissmeinnicht)	Campe ;	1814	*
80	Napoleon-Day at St. Helena (Wie der . . . Napoleons-Tag . . . festlich begangen wird)		1816	*
81	Napoleon fishing (Napoleons Fischzug), by Riedel [6]		1814	*

[1] George III. replaced by the Tsar Alexander.
[2] *Cf.* D. 76.
[3] A variant, with title 'Der Rheinische Jaeger' figures in the Latta Collection.
[4] Original of F. 39 and H. 36. Seeing the idiom is purely Germanic, one wonders at the exportation of the print to Italy.
[5] Napoleon as a spider. *Cf.* A. 234. Reproduced on cover.
[6] *Cf.* D. 154.

No.	Short Title.—English and German.	Publisher and Date.		Section.
82	‡Napoleon in a cage (Où peut-on être mieux, &c.)	January	1816	*
83	Napoleon in the doctors' hands (Napoleon unter den Händen der Aerzte) [1]		1814	B. N.
84	Napoleon riding into the mouth of hell. (No title)		1814	*
85	Napoleon's arrival in hell (Napoleons Ankunft in der Unterwelt) .		1814	*
86	†Napoleon's Dream (Napoleons Traum). *Adaptation of A. 715* (*see No. 102*)		1809	*
87	Napoleon's escape from Elba (Napoleons Entweichung von Elba) .		1815	Jost
88	Napoleon's travelling incident (Napoleons Reiseabentheuer) . . .	Campe ;	1814	*
89	†Nelson's Victory, or Good News, &c. *Copy of A. 664*		1798	*
90	New coronation, The (Die neue Krönung auf dem Mayfelde) . . .	July	1815	*
91	New Elba, The (Das neue Elba)	Campe ;	1815	*
92	§New European barber's shop, The (Die neue Europaeische Barbierstube) [2]	Spring	1814	*
93	§New Robinson Crusoe, The (Der neue Robinson auf . . . St. Helena) [3]	Spring	1816	*
94	§New Universal Monarch, The (Der neue Universalmonarch). *Variant of No. 124* [4]		1813	*
95	Newest policy of Napoleon, The (Die neueste Politik Napoleons) . *Transparency*	Spring	1814	*
96	†Nursery, The. *Copy of A. 661*		1802	*

97	§Old love never rusts (Alte Liebe rostet nicht) [5] . . . . . *And see* First love, *and* Faithful hangers-on.	Campe ;	1816	*
98	Organ-grinder, The (Es könnt' ja nicht immer so bleiben)		1813	*
99	‡Overthrow of Fame, The (Madame Renommée sur son retour) [6] . .		1813	*
100	Parisian nutcracker, The (Der Pariser Nussknacker)		1813	Jost
101	†Plumb-pudding (*sic*) in danger, The. *Copy of A. 704*		1805	—
102	†Political Dreamings, Visions of Peace, &c. *Copy of A. 715.* Starke *sc.*		1801	*
103	†Preliminaries of Peace. *Copy of A. 725*		1801	—
104	Prince Charles and General Buonaparte (Prinz Carl und General Buonaparte als Friedenstifter)	Tretta ;	1798	C.
105	Puzzle Violets (Räthselhafte Veilchen) [7]	Ankele ;	1815	*
—	Puzzle portraits ; *and see* Cup ; Fearful ; I am named ; Newest ; Rocky ; Triumph of 1813.			
—	Rats. *See* Little court ; Most heroic ; Hellenic ; Napoleon-Day ; New Robinson ; Old love.			
106	' Resolutions ' (Mit meiner Scheere, &c.). 6 pictures [8]		1813	*

[1] Analogies in A. 50, A. 263, A. 458, A. 507, A. 753, A. 774 ; D. 58, D. 286, D. 296 ; G. 24, G. 35 ; H. 6, H. 51, H. 58.
[2] Original of F. 2 ; and *see* footnote to D. 307.
[3] Derived from D. 95, and itself the original from which D. 239 was closely adapted.
[4] Original of H. 46.
[5] Original of A. 868.
[6] 'A Paris, chez Blaise.'
[7] French source. *Cf.* A. 209–212 ; A. 457 ; D. 353–4.
[8] Copy of West's Invasion print (A. 752), with one topical correction : Napoleon is given throughout the 'little hat' instead of the plumed *bicorne*.

No.	Short Title.—English and German.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
107	Retreat from Russia (Rückzug aus Russland). *Copy of G. 26* . *And see* Voluntary, *and* Sad.		1813	Jost
108	†Rival Accoucheurs, The. *Copy of A. 765*		1800	—
109	Rocky Castle, The (Die Felsenburg auf St. Helena). *Variant of No. 31.* Lithograph by J. Bayer		1816	*
110	Sad picture of the French retreat (Trauriges Bild der französischen Retirade)		1813	*
111	‡Seize Berlin ! (Emparez-vous de Berlin !)	Weiss ;	1813	*
112	†Selling the skin, &c. *Copy of A. 801*		1804	—
113	‡Sharing out the world (Le partage du monde)	Weiss ;	1813	*
114	†Shrine of St. Anne's Hill. *Copy of A. 804*		1798	—
115	Small game for two great men (Ein kleines Spiel für zwei grosse Männer) [1]	July	1815	*
116	Solemn obsequies of the Universal Monarchy, by Hoffman . . .		1813	—
117	§Spanish and Cossack offers (Befehlen Sie Spanisch-Bitter ? &c.) [2] .	Campe ;	1813	*
118	Star of Katzbach, The (Der Stern von der Katzbach). *Broadside :* Raabe *del ;* Wachsmann *sc.*	Weiss ;	1815	*
119	§Stepladder of Napoleon's rise and fall (Stufenleiter der Grösse und des Sturzes Napoleons).[3] *And see* Climacteric		1814	*

—	This buck have I shot. *See* Lucky hunter (2).			
—	This is my beloved Son. *See* Devil and the drinkers, *and* Devil's darling.			
—	To the Germans for the New Year [1814]. *See* Triumph of the Year 1813.			
—	To the Germans for the New Year 1815. *See* Great Cæsar.			
—	Through my avarice, &c. *See* Wheelbarrow.			
120	Triumph of the French Eagle, The (Der Triumph des Fränkischen Adlers)		1806	*
121	§ 'Triumph of the Year 1813' (Triumph des Jahres 1813. Den Deutschen zum Neuen Jahr). By Voltz [4]		1814	Jost
122	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (Triumph des Jahres 1813. Den Teutschen zum Neuenjahr). *Variant*		1814	*
123	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (Triumph des Jahres 1813. Den Deutschen zum Neuenjahr 1814) [5]		1814	B. N.
—	True portrait of the Conqueror. *See* foregoing.			
124	Universal Monarch, The (Der Universalmonarch). *And see* New .	Boydell	1813	*

[1] Adaptation of A. 233; and *cf.* D. 62 and 311. [2] Original of H. 62. [3] Original of I. 24.

[4] The celebrated Hieroglyphic Portrait, reproduced throughout Europe, and imitated for one other personage, the Emperor Alexander (A. 7). Second title: *Wahre Abbildung des Eroberers* (True portrait of the Conqueror). Original of A. 404, 569, 615, 625, 626; D. 342, 343, 344; F. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63; F. 91; F. 93; G. 47; H. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70; I. 25 and 26.

[5] Elaboration of the two foregoing. The Prussian Eagle in the hat gives place to the 'Allied Eagle' with five heads, *i.e.* two apiece for Austria and Russia, and one for Prussia.

Note.—Several other German variants of the print are found, mainly small reproductions with minor changes.

No.	Short Title.—English and German.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
125	Vain effort, final reward (Eitles Bestreben, endlicher Lohn) . . .		1815	C.
126	Victory of Brienne (Victorie bei Brienne), by F. M. B.		1814	*
127	'Victory' of the Brandenburg Gate returning home, The. *Aquatint*	September	1814	*
128	Vigilance and Envy (Wachsamkeit und Neid)		1806	*
129	Voluntary bivouac, The (Freiwilliger Bivouac der grossen französischen Armee)	End	1812	*
130	Voluntary retreat, The (Freiwilliger Rückzug der grossen französischen Armee)	End	1812	*
—	Waterloo. *See* Belle Alliance.			
131	Wheelbarrow stuck fast, The (Durch meine Habsucht, &c.) . . .		1813	*
—	'With my shears, &c.' *See* Resolutions.			

ADDITIONAL: FROM THE LATTA COLLECTION

No.	Short Title.—English and German.
132	Captive, The (Napoleon der Gefangene).
133	Devil and Napoleon, The (Der Teufel und Napoleon).
134	Footprint, The (Da liegt mein Tapp).
135	Napoleon two months after (Napoleon zwei Monate nachher).
136	Odious visit, An (Ein verhasster Besuch).
137	To tiger and wolf (Zum Tiger und zum Wolf).

APPENDIX F

ITALIAN AND SPANISH CARICATURES

COLLECTIONS—

* Broadley ; † Bertarelli ; B. M., British Museum; C., Musée Carnavalet.

Caricatures, whether lettered in Italian, German, or French, issued at Milan by the French or at Venice by the Allies during their respective occupations, are entered as Italian.

No.	Short Title.—English and Italian.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
1	Bad master, The (Le mauvais maître, &c.)	Milan ;	1797	†
2	Barber's shop, The (La nuova bottega dei Barbiere) [1]	Spring	1814	B. M.
3	Beaulieu on the Po (Bolieu al Po). *Aquatint*	May	1796	*
4	Belshazzar's Feast (Convito di Baldassare) [2]	Piale ;	1814	†
5	Blowing bubbles (1) (Le conquiste, o Fanciullo, &c.) [3]	Spring	1814	†
6	Blowing bubbles (2) (Ah, Papa, quante bele, &c.). *Variant* . . .	Spring	1814	†
7	Bonaparte, Berthier and Nelson (Giurai morte, o trionfo, &c.) . .		1799	†
8	Bonaparte in a cage (No title : ' Non posso andare, &c.')		1799	†
9	Bonaparte struck by a bolt (Buonaparte colpito dal fulmine) . . .		1814	†
10	Bonaparte's fate (Il destino di Bonaparte)	May	1814	†
—	Campo-Formio. *See* Reckoning (1) and (2).			
11	Chained dog, The (Non serve nè fischiar', &c.) [4]		1817	†
12	Coalition, The (Coalizione delle Potenze alleate), by B. Pinelli . .	Spring	1814	†
13	Courier of the Rhine, The (Il corriere del Reno) [5] . . . . . *And see* Lucky.	End	1813	†
14	Courier of Vienna, The (Il corriere di Vienna)	March	1797	†

[1] Copy of E. 92. [2] *Cf.* A. 423. [3] Copy of E. 6.
[4] Derived from D. 46. [5] Copy of E. 18.

No.	Short Title.—English and Italian.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
15	Democrat astounded, The (Il Democratico stordito e disperato) .		1799	†
16	Distribution of honours (La distribuzione delle onorificenze) . . . By Riboldi.	Milan ;	1815	†
17	Empire (Impero). Pinelli *del ;* Cunego *sc.*	Spring	1814	†
18	Equality (l' Eguaglianza)		1797	†
19	Fall of Napoleon (Caduta di Napoleone)	May	1814	B. M. * †
20	Flogging, The (Quanti Ri, Stati e Nazioni)	April	1814	†
21	Fly, The (l' Altissimo, l' Eroe Napoleone fece una mosca, &c.)[1] . .	Spring	1814	B. M.
22	French examined, The (I Francesi all' esame)		1799	†
23	Funeral of Mantua (Funerale di Mantova). A. Dalbon *del. ;* Jos. Parmine *sc.*[2]	March	1797	†
24	Gamblers, The (No title). By Sabatelli	End	1796	†
25	General Bonaparte prisoner (Il General Buonaparte fatto prigionero, &c.)		1799	†

26	Général Sans Pareil [3]		1815	†
27	Giantess, The (La Gigantessa)		1797	—
28	Goddesses in triumph, The (La dea in trionfo)		1799	†
29	Hanged Cock, The (Il gallo impicato) [4]		1799	†
30	I am on thorns (Io mi trovo sulle spine) [5]	Early	1814	†
31	Impious Lodge, The (Dall' empio Loggia, &c.) [6]		1799	* †
32	Indigestion of the French Commissioners (Indigestione dei Commissari Francesi)		1798	†
33	Italy in 1796 (E questa l'Italia, &c.)		1814	†
34	Italy's entreaty (Dal braccio vostro, &c.)		1799	*
35	Last Judgment, The (Il giudizio finale). By Riboldi	Milan ;	1815	†
36	Liberty (La Libertà)		1797	†
37	Lucky courier, The (Il corriere più ricco) [7]	End	1813	†
38	Lucky dancer, The (Il ballerino più ricco)		1814	†
39	Lucky hunter, The (Il cacciatore più ricco) [8]	End	1813	†

[1] Pun on "Moscow." [2] See D. 218. [3] French source: *see* D. 132.
[4] Variant of No. 8. [5] Copy of D. 170.
[6] One of a set of four prints directed against the Italian Free-Masons, published at Roveredo, and supplementary to a set of eight in honour of the Allies.
[7] Reverse of No. 13. [8] Copy of E. 72.

No.	Short Title.—English and Italian.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
40	Mummy, The (Na Poleone Bonaparte Mummia)	1799	†
41	Napoleon at Elba (Napoleone all' Elba)	Summer 1814	†
42	Napoleon in a net	1815	†
43	Patriot women travelling (Le patriotte in viaggio, &c.)	1799	†
44	Patriotism (Il patriottismo)	1799	†
45	Political opinions (Tavola delle opinione politiche, &c.)	1800	†
46	Precursor of thieves (Precursore dei ladri)	1796	*
47	Prina and Bonaparte (Buonaparte, passegiando alle sponde, &c.)	Summer 1814	* †
48	Prina and Pluto (Plutone che respinge, &c.)	Summer 1814	†
—	Puzzle picture. *See* Serpent ; Triumph.		
49	Quack, The (No title. 'Balsamo mortifero, &c.')	1799	†
50	Reckoning, The (1) (Mentre sortono dall' Albergo, &c.)[1]	Milan ; Oct. 1797	†
51	Reckoning, The (2) (All' Encroyable). *Variant*	Venice ; Oct. 1797	†
52	Republican fanatic, The (Il repubblicano fanatico)	1799	†
53	Ride to hell, The (Il Bestion che di vizia, &c.)[2]	May 1814	†

—	St. Helena. *See* Chained dog.			
54	Scales of Time, The (Il tempo inesorabile, &c.)	Spring	1814	†
55	Serpent and the Eagle, The (Il serpe divorato dall' aquila) . . .	Early	1814	†
56	Shattered statue, The (Ecco, Giustizia, &c.)	May	1814	†
—	Spectre. *See* Prina.			
57	To the martyrs of Truth (Alli martiri della Verità). By Riboldi .	Milan ;	1815	B. M. †
58	Tribute to the Venetian aristocracy (Tributo alla veneta aristocrazia)			
59	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (1) (Vera immagine del Conquistatore) [3]	Milan ;	1797	†
60	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (2) (Vera immagine del Conquistatore) [4]		1814	* †
61	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (3). (No title) [5]		1814	†
62	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (4) (Il Ritratto dell' ambizioso Conquistatore) [6]		1814	†
63	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (5) (Vero ritratto del Conquistatore) [7]	Milan ;	1814	†
64	Truth, novelty and antiquity (Verità, novità, e antichità), by Riboldi		1814	†
65	Unlooked-for defeat, The (La sconfitta inaspetta)	Milan ;	1814	†
66	Usurper's meal, The (Gli sforzi tuoi, Usurpator, &c.)	March	1797	†
67	Wax-work Bonaparte, The (Bonaparte di cera)		1799	*
		'Berlin ;	1814'	* †

[1] After Campo Formio ; *cf.* D. 281, which this probably suggested.
[2] *Cf.* E. 84.
[3] The German hieroglyphic portrait ; *see* E. 121. Second title : 'Trionfo dell' anno 1813'—Ai Tedeschi per il Capo d'anno. (To the Germans for the New Year.)
[4] Variant, larger : 'Done at Berlin.'
[5] Variant : explanation only : 'Berlin 1814.'
[6] Variant ; published plain and coloured by G. Sandis, Contrada de Bossi.
[7] Variant : ten-line inscription.

B.—SPANISH CARICATURES

No.	Short Title.—English and Spanish.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
68	Bonaparte blind through conceit (Bonaparte ciego de sobervia, &c.)	1808	*
69	Bull-fight, The (La fiesta de toros) [1]	1808	C.
70	Corsican tiger at bay, The (El tigre corso atacado) [2]	1808	*
71	Cure of the sick Napoleon (Curacion de Napoleon enfermo) . . .	1812	C.
72	Death of Napoleon (Muerte de Napoleon)	1815	—
73	Enigma of Napoleon's ideas (Enigma de las ideas de Napoleon) .	1809	*
74	Gratitude of the Spanish bull (Gratitud . . . del toro español) . .	1811	B. M.
75	Happiness of Spain, The (Felicidad de Napoleon à España) . . .	1810	—
76	Happy day, A (Dia feliz de la Europa)	1808	B. M.
77	Horror of War, The. After Goya.	1812	—

78	Imperial Congress, The (Congresso imperial de Verona)	—	—
79	It's neither a horse, &c. (Ni es caballo, ni yegna, &c.)	1808	—
80	King of bottles, The (Estampa . . . à Pepe botellas)	1808	—
81	King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver, The (El rey de Brobdingnag y Gulliver) [3]	1803	*
82	King of cups, The (El rey de copas) [4]	1808	*
83	Love of the bottle (El amor de la botella)	1808	—
84	Memorable sea-voyage, The (El memorable . . . viaje maritimo) .	1814	—
85	Napoleon and Godoy (Napoleon y Godoy)	1812	C.
86	Napoleon and the bird (Retratos enigmaticos del Emperador) . .	1809	C.
87	Napoleon in Purgatory (Napoleon en el Purgatorio)	1812	—
88	Napoleon working for Spain (Napoleon trabajando para . . . España)	1808	*

[1] Reproduction of Gillray's plate, A. 814.
[2] Rowlandson's plate, A. 235, with Spanish title and key printed on the impressions.
[3] Copy of Gillray's plate, A. 522, with sundry additions. *Cf.* E. 61 and 61*a*.
[4] *Cf.* A. 880.

SPANISH CARICATURES

No.	Short Title.—English and Spanish.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
89	Oratory of the King of Cups (Oratorio del rey de Copas)	1808	*
90	Plucked eagle, The. After Goya	1813	—
91	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (Napoleon en el año 1814) [1]	1814	*
92	Where art thou going to? (¿ Donde vas, Napoleon ?)	1808	—
	PORTUGUESE CARICATURE		
93	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (No title) [1]	1814	*

[1] The German hieroglyphic portrait; *see* E. 121.

APPENDIX G

RUSSIAN CARICATURES

COLLECTIONS—

* Broadley ; B. M., British Museum.

Caricatures marked † were copied by G. Cruikshank. The reference follows the title.

RUSSIAN CARICATURES

No.	Title.	Date.		Collection.
1	Audacious attempt to possess the world (An)		1812	*
2	Conqueror of the world (The)		1813	*
3	Conscription (The)		1813	B. M.
4	Contributions for the King of Rome's Throne		1813	B. M.
5	Contributions for the New Army		1813	B. M.
6	Cossack a whirlwind of strength (The)		1812	*
—	Cossack. *And see* Goat ; Napoleon on a crayfish ; *and* Polish.			
7	†Dancing-master. By I. Terebenef. (*A. 778*)	January	1813	B. M. *
8	Dancing-lesson (A)		1812	*
9	Destruction of the Prussian mushroom. By I. Terebenef		1813	—
10	Dream of the three tumblers (The)		1812	*
11	Entertainment of Napoleon in Russia. By I. Terebenef		1813	—
12	†French post extraordinary from Moscow to Paris. (*A. 368*) . . .	December	1812	—
13	French voyager in the year 1812 (The). By I. Terebenef		1812	—
14	Giant of Cichevki (The)		1812	*
15	Goat or Cossack ? [1]		1812	*

16	Head-quarters staff kitchen (The)		1812	—
17	Hearty and voluntary supply of recruits (The)		1813	—
18	Heroic determination of a nonagenarian		1813	*
19	Hospitality : bread and salt	Feb.	14, 1813	*
20	Hungry French wolves devouring a ram	Jan.	28, 1813	*
21	Jack Frost hare-hunting		1812	*
22	Journey of the exalted traveller from Warsaw to Paris. By I. Terebenef		1813	*
23	Knout (The)		1812	*
24	Medical consultation (A). By I. Terebenef [2]		1812	*
25	Napoleon after the burning of Moscow		1812	*
26	Napoleon on a crayfish [3]		1812	*
27	†Napoleon's Fame. By I. Terebenef. (*A. 632*)	January	1813	B. M.
28	Napoleon's retreat from Russia with his generals		1812	*
29	Nero-Napoleon		1812	*
30	Nose Napoleon brought with him from Moscow (The). By I. Terebenef		1813	—

[1] Homonyms in Russian.

[2] *See* E. 83, footnote.

[3] Original of E. 107.

No.	Title.	Date.	Collection.
31	Peasant power	January 20, 1813	*
32	Pig messenger (The)	1813	B. M. *
33	Polish Cossacks	1812	*
34	Prudent retreat (A). By I. Terebenef	1813	—
35	Quarantine for Napoleon. By I. Terebenef [1]	1813	—
36	Retirement into winter-quarters [2]	October 1812	*
37	Retreat of the French cavalry. By I. Terebenef	1812	—
38	Retreat from Moscow (The) *And see* Napoleon on a crayfish.	1812	B. M.
39	Running-lesson (The)	1813	*
40	†Russian boor returning from his field sports. (*A. 776*)	November 1812	—
41	Russian indifference to pain	Feb. 11, 1813	*
42	Russian Infantry and French Cavalry	1813	Jost
43	†Russian peasant loading a dung-cart. (*A. 777*)	January 1813	—
44	Russian style (The)	Feb. 11, 1813	*

45	†Specimen of Russian chopping-blocks. (*A. 823*)	November	1812	—
46	Spirit of Russian fearlessness		1812	*
47	'Triumph of the Year 1813' [3]	Spring	1814	—
48	Triumphal entry of Napoleon into Paris		1813	*
49	Turkish bath (The)		1812	B. M.
50	Villagers of Volodomir	December	1812	*
51	Wolf in sheep's clothing (The)		1813	B. M.

[1] *See* E. 83, footnote. [2] *Cf.* Cruikshank's plate, A. 96. [3] The German hieroglyphic portrait ; *see* E. 121.

APPENDIX H

DUTCH CARICATURES

COLLECTIONS—

* Broadley; † Van Stolk; ‡ Van Gijn.

Caricatures marked § are by Esser (W. Esser *inv.*, or *del.*, or *fec.*), and were published by him at The Hague.

The Dutch spelling is retained.

No.	Short Title.—English and Dutch.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
1	Away with the Régie (Weg met de régie !). R. Winkeles *del.* . .	Autumn 1813	† [1]
2	Birth of Bonaparte (Geboorte van Bonaparte) [2]	End 1813	* †
3	Begging for grace (Daar stort hij van zijn' troon, &c.)	1815	†
4	§Butterfly-chase, The (Napoleon op de Kapellenjacht)	1814	*v.* No. 5
5	§Caricature-vendor, The (N. Bonaparte) [3]	1814	†
6	Consultation, The (Bonaparte naar het Eiland Elba in consult met vreemde Doctooren) [4]	September 1814	† ‡
7	Conscription, The (' Hollans School '). By H. Fock (Plate 4. *See* No. 27)	1813	†
8	Corsican devil, The (De corsicaansche duivel) [5]	1813	† ‡

[1] In three forms; pencil sketch, aquatint, and coloured etching.

[2] Broadside to accompany the English print, A. 49, which was circulated in Holland. *Cf.* No. 55.

[3] Napoleon as a print-hawker, displaying seventeen tiny caricatures of himself, taken from the large plates designed and sold by Esser (*v. Atlas Van Stolk*, No. 6325). Of these, six are entered in the ordinary way in this Appendix. The remaining eleven, which do not figure in any collection, are included as subordinate to the present entry, and with the sole reference thereto.

[4] Derived from A. 458; and *see* E. 83, footnote.

[5] Practical toy, consisting of a cardboard doll representing Napoleon as a nude devil, on to which can be fitted six paper costumes, to suit the following stages of his career: lieutenant, general, consul, emperor, commander-in-chief, and, lastly, fugitive from Russia ' with a stocking on his head,' *i.e.* ' on a bootless errand.'

No.	Short Title.—English and Dutch.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
9	§Cossack's refusal, The (Napoleon, zijn vaandel een kozak aanbiedende)	1814	*v.* No. 5
10	§Cossack's spear, The (Om het gedaane aan het menschdom, &c.) .	February 1813	* †
11	§Cossack's spear, The. *Reverse*	1813	†
12	De Celles-Napoleon-Duterage. *Variant of No. 49*	November 1813	† ‡
13	Devil's darling. (No title). *Copy of E. 23*.	1814	‡
14	§Donkey-ride, The (Napoleon op een ezel)	1814	*v.* No. 5
15	§Eagle at Elba, The (Napoleon op een eiland, &c.)	1814	*v.* No. 5
16	'Eighteen-Thirteen' (1813 : 'Men leerd met schade en schande'), by H. Fock (Plate 6. *See* No. 27) [1]	1813	†
17	Elements, The ('Dikke sneeuw en elemente'), by H. Fock (Plate 2. *See* No. 27)	1813	†
18	Entry of the Trojan Horse (Intrêe van 't Trojaansche Paerd in Bestiania), by Van Woenzel	1800	†
19	Escape from Elba, The (Van Elba ging ik spoedig heen, &c.) [2] . .	Hendriksen 1815	†
20	Exile to St. Helena (Ik heb mijn taak weer afgedaan, &c.) [3] . . .	Hendriksen 1815	†

21	First Napoleon, The (De eerste Napoleon)			‡
22	Flight from Moscow, The (De vlugt uit Moskouw) [4]		1813	‡
23	Flight of Napoleon, The (De vlucht van Napoleon). By I. Kamphuisen		1813	‡
24	Flight of Napoleon, The (De vlugt van Napoléon). By C. Bock .	June	1815	†
25	Flight of the plucked cock (Vlucht der geplukte Haan). By P. Van Os	July	1815	* † ‡
26	§Fool, The (Napoleon de zotskap)	November	1813	† ‡
27	French lot drawn in the Moscow lottery (Frans lot getrokke in de Mossekouwse Loterey, &c.) [5]	Spring	1813	†
28	From France to Corsica [6] (Napolion wat snood beginne . . . Van Vrankrijk weer na Korsika)		1813	†
29	§From Moscow to Elba (Van Moscou tot Elba moest ik wyke, &c.)	May Summer	1814 1814	* †
30	Genealogical tree of Buonaparte (Geschlacht-boom van Buonaparte)	Hendriksen	1813	* †
31	General attack, The (Algemene aanval op den Rusverstoorder, &c.)	June	1815	†
32	§Greengrocer, The (Napoleon als groentekoopman)		1814	*v.* No. 5
33	Guess who this is (*Ra, ra*, eens, menschen, wie is dat) [7]	Moolenyzer	1813	†

[1] *Cf.* E. 26. [2] First of a group of four coloured woodcuts on one sheet, the second and third not being in caricature.
[3] Fourth of the above group. An adaptation of No. 72.
[4] Derived from A. 102.
[5] First of a set of six small plates on the retreat from Russia and the battle of Leipzig, designed and etched by H. Fock, and described as 'very rare' by Müller (No. 5818). For the others, *see* Nos. 7, 16, 17, 61, 64. The original copperplates are in the Van Stolk Collection. The cage (kooi) and sparrow (musch) is here a play upon the word 'Moscow.' *Cf.* F. 21.
[6] In error for Elba. [7] Play upon the name of Van Ray, the French Censor at Amsterdam.

No.	Short Title.—English and Dutch.	Publisher and Date.	Collection.
34	§Hog and cock in harness, The (Napoleon, door een varken en een haan getrokken)	1814	*v.* No. 5
35	He has done nothing (Hij heeft niets gedaan) [1]	Van Kesteren 1813	†
36	§Lucky hunter, The (Deze bok heb ik geschoten te Moscouw) [2] . .	1813	* † ‡
37	§Madhouse, The (Het Dolhuijs)	Summer 1814	* †
38	§Napoleon [bust to left]	1814	*v.* No. 5
39	N. Bonaparte. *See* Caricature-vendor.		
40	Napoleon in a top-boot (O Wee ! nu ziet ik hier, &c.)	1813	†
41	§Napoleon led in chains by the devil (Napoleon door den duivel naar de gevangenis geleid)	1814	*v.* No. 5
42	§Napoleon riding a cock to Elba (Nu moet ik met mijn haan, &c.) .	1814	*
43	§Napoleon slung with flask, glass and horn (Napoleon met een lint over den schouder, &c.)	1814	*v.* No. 5

44	§Napoleon striking his forehead (Napoleon zich zelf voor 't hoofd slaande)			
—	Napoleon the first and last. *See* Triumph of 1813 (4).		1814	*v.* No. 5
45	'Napoleon with a long nose.' *Copy of D. 235*		1814	†
46	New Universal Monarch, The (De nieuwe Wereldbeheerscher) [3] . .	End	1813	* † ‡
47	§Nightmare, The (De nagtmerri beryd Napolion) [4]		1813	† ‡
48	Orange snuff (Oranje snuifje, Napoleon, dat ik U bie, &c.)		1813	†
—	Peculiar portrait of the Tyrant. *See* Triumph of 1813 (5).			
49	Pillory, The (Eij, Vrinde, ziet gij wel de Keiser op 't Schabel) . . *And see* De Celles.	November	1813	† ‡
50	§Pistol-shot, The (Napoleon zich in den mond schietend)		1814	*v.* No. 5
51	Press of the Allies, The (Wat word hij thans geperst, &c.) . . . . *And see* Consultation.	End	1814	* † ‡
52	'Rappe-bon.' [5] [Napoleon in a snuff-jar]		1815	† ‡
53	§Rat is in the trap, The (De rot is in de val) [6]	October	1813	* † ‡

[1] *Cf.* No. 65. [2] Copy of E. 72. In this instance Esser's claim to be the 'inventor' is disingenuous.
[3] Copy of E. 94. The river is lettered 'Rhine' instead of 'Elbe.'
[4] *Cf.* No. 3. Analogies in A. 122, A. 295, A. 544, D. 376, and E. 86.
[5] *Sc.* 'good rappee'; an anagram, of a sort, on the name of Bonaparte. *Cf.* No. 48, and D. 97.
[6] The earliest 'rat-caricature' apart from the 'Mew-rat' skits, and a mere limitation of the 'cage' idea, which is found as early as 1799 (F. 8). It in no way inspired the Franco-German St. Helena series, where the rats have a far less figurative meaning!

No.	Short Title.—English and Dutch.	Publisher and Date.		Collection.
54	§Rats and the Régie (De bijeenkomst van de kelderrotten met die van de régie)		1813	*
55	Review of the French troops, &c. (Wapenschouw der Fransche troepen, &c.) [1]	January	1813	* †
56	Scales, The (Eendracht der Volkeren)		1814	‡
57	Shoe-black, The (Keiser als jy het niet goet, &c.)		1813	†
58	Sick-bed of Napoleon, The ('t ziekbed van Napoleon de I^{e}) [2] . .		1813	†
59	§Skipper, The (Napoleon, touwtje springende). (*Müller 5913*) [3] . .		1814	—
60	Soft roe, hard roe! (Hom en Kuyt, zes *Douane* voor een duyt!) [4] .	November	1813	†
61	'Spain—Russia—Leipzig' ('Gebrek aan leevensmiddelen'), by H. Fock (Plate 5. *See* No. 27)		1813	†
62	Spanish and Cossack offers (Verkiest ge ook Russisch ys?) [5] . . .		1813	† ‡
63	Spanish and Cossack offers. *Variant* [6]		1813	*
—	Spy-glass. *See* From Moscow.			
64	Teetotum, The (Het alletje), by H. Fock (Plate 3. *See* No. 27) .		1813	†
65	Tin soldiers, The (Napoleon in den kakstoel) [7]	End	1813	† ‡

66	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (1) (Echte beeldtenis des veroveraars) [8]		1814	* †
67	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (2) (Echte beeldtenis des veroveraars) [9]		1814	†
68	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (3) (Echte beeldtenis des veroveraars) [10]		1814	†
69	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (4) (Napoleon, de eerste en laatste, &c.) [11]		1814	†
70	'Triumph of the Year 1813' (5) (Eigenaardige Afbeelding des geweldenaars) [12]			
—	True portrait of the Conqueror. *See* Nos. 66–68.	Maskamp ;	1814	*
71	Universe is too big for me, The ('t Heelal is mij te groot) [13] . . .		1814	† ‡
—	Waterspout to the Moon. *See* foregoing.			
72	§Voyage to Elba (Reis naar het eiland Elba)		1814	†

[1] Broadside to accompany the English print, A. 758. *See* No. 2, footnote.
[2] Derived from A. 50; and *see* E. 83, footnote. [3] *See* D. 180.
[4] Parody of the Dutch street-cry, 'Six herrings for a doit!'
[5] Copy of E. 117; four-line inscription, slightly different from the German. [6] Inscription in three lines.
[7] Analogies in A. 110, A. 822, D. 296, H. 35.
[8] The German hieroglyphic portrait; *see* E. 121, &c. Separate explanation in eighteen lines of verse.
[9] Variant; names of battles arranged differently. [10] Variant; no All-seeing eye.
[11] Variant; title in Dutch, German, French, and English; sundry alterations. *Cf.* A. 626. Two or three other variants of later date are to be noted. [12] Explanatory broadside to accompany the portrait. [13] *See* D. 149.

APPENDIX I

SWISS AND SCANDINAVIAN CARICATURES

[* Broadley Collection]

A.—SWISS

Nos.

1. Billeting soldiers in town and country, by D. Hess. 1801.
2. Café Lisel, by A. L. Girardet. (*See E. 12.*) 1811.
3. Metempsychosis of Merchandise, by A. L. Girardet. 1806.
*4. Political See-saw, The (Die politische Schaukel), by D. Hess ('Gillray Junr'). 1802.
5. 'Vienna and Berlin' [Napoleon between the two], by D. Hess. 1808.

**The Moral-Political Courier;* a set of 16 plates issued in four parts, etched by Anton Düncker and published at Berne in 1797 :—

6. *Part I. Plate* 1.—Topical rebus.
7. *Part I., Plate* 2.—
   (*a*) Partition of Poland.
   (*b*) Spoliation of Venice.
   (*c*) A clear sweep of royal and ecclesiastical emblems.
8. *Part I., Plate* 3.—
   (*a*) Gale in the Pontine Marshes.
   (*b*) Bonaparte as a Comet.
9. *Part I., Plate* 4.—
   (*a*) Bonaparte between Attila and Hannibal.
   (*b*) The Papal deputation.
   (*c*) Papal spoliation, &c.
10. *Part II., Plate* 1.—Topical rebus.
11. *Part II., Plate* 2.—'Descende Cœlo': Peace and her votaries.

Nos.

12. *Part II., Plate* 3.—
    (*a*) England's prayer for peace.
    (*b*) Bonaparte and the Emperor Francis striking a bargain.
    (*c*) Statutes of the French and the English Republics (*sic*).
    (*d*) The ' Index Expurgatorius ' in Portugal.
13. *Part II., Plate* 4.—
    (*a*) Passage of the Rhine by the French.
    (*b*) Peace kicking Death.
14. *Part III., Plate* 1.—
    (*a*) Bonaparte's envoy and Venice.
    (*b*) Italian spoils in the melting-pot.
15. *Part III., Plate* 2.—Symbolical sea-fight.
16. *Part III., Plate* 3.—Peace Congress at Berne.
17. *Part III., Plate* 4.—Barthélemy's accession to the Directorate.
18. *Part IV., Plate* 1.—Topical rebus.
19. *Part IV., Plate* 2.—
    (*a*) Augereau.
    (*b*) Bonaparte.
    (*c*) The Pope on stilts.
    (*d*) Death as general.
20. *Part IV., Plate* 3.—
    (*a*) Bonaparte and the Marquis de Gallo
    (*b*) Naval action off the Texel.
    (*c*) Blanchard's balloon-trip.
    (*d*) Filière's descent with a parachute.
    (*e*) Bonaparte measuring Peace for a pair of wings.
    (*f*) Peace spreading her wings over the earth.
21. *Part IV., Plate* 4.—
    (*a*) The God of War cautioned by Peace.
    (*b*) Death and the decollated heads.
    (*c*) Rastadt, symbolised.
    (*d*) Monograms in fireworks.
    (*e*) The ' Political Courier ' chastising his nag.
    (*f*) The ' Political Courier ' dismounting.

B.—SWEDISH

Nos.

22. Blowing bubbles at St. Helena. *Adaptation of E.* 1821.
23. Devil's darling, The. J. G. Ruckman *sc.* *Copy of E. 2* 1814.
24. Napoleon's Rise and Fall (Med sina Bragders, &c. *Adaptation of E. 119.* 1815.
25. 'Triumph of the Year 1813.' A Söderberg *sc.* Title i German; key in Swedish. *Variant of E. 121.* 1814
26. 'Triumph of the Year 1813.' J. G. Ruckman *sc.* Titl in German. *Variant of E. 121.* 1814.
27. Washerwoman, The. Sepia sketch. *Copy of A. 33* 1816.

INDEX

A

Abercromby, Sir Ralph, ii. 206
Aboukir Bay, French disaster in, ii. 143
Ackermann, Rudolph, an account of his life, i. 61–66
Acre, the siege of, i. 124
Acton, Lord, at Naples, i. ix
Addington, Henry, i. 141 *note*, 142, 145, 148 *note*, 154, 162, 170, 212, 218
—— compared with Pitt, i. xxxix
—— Ministry, the, i. 143, 146, 154, 189
Æschylus, *Persæ*, i. lxi
Ajaccio, i. 80
Albuera, i. 268
Alessandria, i. 129 *note* ; ii. 149
Alexander I., i. xxxii, xxxiv, 175, 229, 258, 285, 287, 295, 296, 310, 329 ; ii. 170, 178, 183
—— in French caricature, i. xliii
—— in German caricature, i. lviii
—— provides good material for French satire, i. lxv
Alexander, G., ii. 235
Alexander VI., Pope, caricatures of, i. xx
Alexandria, i. 120
Allardt, ii. 184
Almanachs de Gotha for 1799 and 1800, i. 127 *note*
Alps, the, i. 139
—— crossing of the, i. 137 ; ii. 143
" A. M.," i. 295
Ambleteuse, i. 168, 209, 305
American War (1772), i. xxvi
Amiens, i. 151, 152, 168
—— Peace of, i. xlix, lxii
Amiens, Peace of, rupture of the, i. 3 *note*
—— treaty of, put an end to, i. 73
—— treaty of, i. 92, 154, 155, 164 ; ii. 38
Amsterdam, ii. 186, 242 *note*
Ancona, i. 99
Angelo, Michael, parody of *The Last Judgment*, ii. 82
Ankele, J. H., i. 132
Anne, Queen, i. 57
Ansell, Charles, i. 45, 121, 135, 148, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 161, 162, 163, 176, 178, 182, 183, 200, 201, 202, 209, 215, 216, 220, 223, 232, 245, 246, 253, 258, 259, 260, 264, 275, 291, 362 ; ii. 235, 265 *note*
Antwerp, i. 168
Appiani, Andrea, ii. 144
Appleton, i. 61
Arbuthnot, Dr., *History of John Bull*, i. xxii
Arcis-sur-Aube, i. 349
Arcola, i. 96 ; ii. 145, 209 *note*
" Argus," i. 46, 240, 250
Argyll, Duke of, *Intimate Society Letters of the Eighteenth Century*, i. 168 *note*
Aristophanes, i. xviii
Arndt, Ernst Moritz, i. 329 ; ii. 102, 110, 113
Arnett, J., i. 240 *note*
Arnold, F., ii. 243
Ashton, John, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I.*, i. xv, 4 *note*, 45, 98
Aspern-Essling, i. 286, 298, 343 ; ii. 220
Astorga, i. 268
Astrakan, i. 138
Asturias, Prince of, i. 267, 269
Aubry, General, i. 82

Augereau, Marshal, i. 228, 330, 354; ii. 55 and *note*, 209 *note*
Augsburg, ii. 106, 107 *note*, 108, 156
Augusta of Bavaria, Princess, i. lxi
Augustus the Strong, King of Poland, i. 308
Austerlitz, i. xl, xli, xliii, xliv, lvii, 228; ii. 43, 45, 108, 259
Austria, allied with France, i. xxv
—— Emperor of, i. 287, 308, 330
—— Empress of, 308
Auxerre, i. 374
Avenches, ii. 208 *note*
Avignon, i. 99

B

Badajoz, i. 268, 310
Baden, Grand Duchy of, ii. 208
Bailly, i. ix
Balcombe, Mr., of St. Helena, ii. 17 *note*
Ballads, Elizabethan, i. xxi
Baltic, the, i. 262
Bannister, "Jack," i. 31
Bantry Bay, i. 86
Barnes, Captain, ii. 22 *note*
Barras, General, i. 83, 130
Barrosa, i. 268
Barth, J., i. 187, 207
Barthélemy, ii. 208 *note*
Bartholomew Fair, i. 4
Bartolozzi, Francesco, i. 36
Barvis, Dr., i. 30
Basle, i. 116 *note*; ii. 208 *note*, 211 *note*
Battle of the Pyramids, in worsted, i. 20
Bausset, Cardinal, i. 352; ii. 58
Bautzen, battle of, i. 330, 334
Bavaria, ii. 145 *note*
Bayard, E., *La Caricature*, i. xxix *note*
Bayer, Joseph, ii. 138
Baylen, i. 267, 269, 271 *note*, 272, 273
Bayonne, i. 267, 283, 284, 289, 291
—— abdication of Charles IV. at, i. xlix–li
Beauharnais, Eugène, marriage of, i. xli; ii. 160
—— Josephine, i. 85
Beaulieu, in Italian caricature, i. lxv
Bedford, Duke of, i. 91, 93, 117
Beethoven, Ludwig van, i. 93
Belbeis, i. 124
Bellegarde, General, ii. 107 *note*
Belliard, General, i. li
Bellman, in caricature, i. 11, 12
Bennigsen, Count, i. 255 *note*, 25[illegible] 258
Berandière, Count de la, ii. 33
Béranger, Pierre Jean de, ii. 274
Beresford, Marshal, i. 268
Beresina, the, i. 311, 313
Berlin, i. lix, 231 *note*, 237, 25[illegible] 254, 330; ii. 121, 153, 158, 16[illegible] 161, 165, 242, 244, 245, 24[illegible] 250
—— Academy, the, ii. 242 *not* 243 *note*
—— caricature shops in, ii. 106
—— Decrees, the, i. lxii, 2[illegible] 238, 253, 255, 286; ii. 43, 4[illegible] 109
—— French occupation of, xliii
—— National Gallery at, ii. 1[illegible] *note*
Bernadotte, Marshal, i. 228, 33[illegible] 337; ii. 216
Berne, i. 113 *note*, 116 *note*; ii. 20[illegible] 211 *note*
—— Library of, i. xii
Bertarelli, Dr. Achille, i. 99 *not* 389 *note*; ii. 145, 146, 152, 15[illegible] 157, 160, 162, 245 *note*
—— *Bolletino della Società Bibli[illegible] grafica Italiana*, ii. 143 and *not* 145 *note*, 147 *note*, 148, 149 a[illegible] *note*, 154 *note*, 155, 158, 159 *not* 161 *note*
—— collection of, i. xiii
—— *Iconografia Napoleonica*, [illegible] 147 *note*, 148 *note*
—— note from, ii. 161 *note*
Berthier, General, i. 129, 13[illegible] ii. 147, 150
—— in German caricature, i. li[illegible]
Bertin, the brothers, i. xxxviii
Bertrand, General, ii. 10 *note*
—— Mme., her attempt to co[illegible] mit suicide, ii. 78
Bessières, Marshal, i. 228
B. F. L. B., i. 174
Bibliothèque Nationale, ii. 28, *note*, 85, 229
—— caricatures in, i. ix, xii

Birmingham, i. 47
Bishop, Thomas, beadle and bellman, i. 12
Bisset, James, i. 46
—— his *Loyalist's Alphabet*, i. 14
Bladenburg, battle of, i. 367
Blanchard, François, ii. 210 *note*
Blücher, Marshal, i. 330, 347, 351, 373, 375; ii. 75 *note*, 116 *note*, 127 *note*, 135 *note*
—— in German caricature, i. lx
Bock, C. ii. 190, 199
Bohemia, ii. 106
Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas, ii. 88
Boilly, Louis Leopold, ii. 28
Bologna, i. 99
Bonaparte and the Consulate, i. xxxvi *note*
—— Jerome, i. 341; ii. 102
—— grandson of, ii. 289
—— marriage of, i. xli
—— Joseph, i. 151, 154, 164, 267, 268, 270 *note*, 271 *note*, 287, 291, 296; ii. 150 and *note*
—— his flight from Madrid, i. 26
—— suppresses news of Trafalgar, i. xl
—— Louis, made King of Holland, i. lxii
—— Lucien, 129, 130, 301, 302
—— Pauline, Geraud's picture of, i. 20
Bonavento, i. 268
Bon Gaultier Ballads, appearance in 1845, ii. 282 and *note*
Bongo, Pietro, *Numerorum Mysteria*, ii. 219 *note*
Booksellers in Piccadilly in 1803, i. 73, 74
Bosio, ii. 30 *note*
Boulogne, i. 105, 168, 199, 209, 222, 228, 231, 304
—— flotilla, the, i. 146, 236
—— preparations for invasion of England at, i. xxv
Bordeaux, i. 267, 273
Borodino, battle of, i. 310, 311
Bourrienne, Louis Antoine Fauvelet, i. 137
Bourvins, Mme. de, i. 82
Boxtel, i. 81
Boyne, J., i. 187, 207
Bradbury, W. L., ii. 288 *note*
Braddyll, Thomas, i. 49
Braddyll, Lieut.-Col., i. 176, 211
Brandenburg, i. lix
Brentano, Clement, ii. 135
Breslau, i. lix, 329
—— battle of, i. 23
—— Museum at, ii. 107 *note*
Brest, i. 105
Brewer, Dr., i. 251 *note*
Bridel, Philip, ii. 202
Brienne, the battle of, i. 347
Bristol, i. 3
Brighton Museum, i. 3
—— collection of pottery and porcelain formed by Mr. Henry Willett, ii. 262–267
—— Staffordshire wing in, ii. 222 *note*
British Museum, ii. 160, 236 *note*
—— collection of Goya's etchings and engravings in, ii. 163
—— Fores's caricatures sold to, i. 60
—— Napoleonic caricatures in, i. xii
—— Russian caricatures in, ii. 172
Broadley, A. M., *The Evolution of John Bull*, i. xxiv *note*
"Brocas," i. 301
Brooke, William Henry, i. 2, 27, 45, 319, 322, 334
—— his work for children, i. 16
Brothers, Francis, collection of, i. 9
Brueys, Admiral, i. 118; ii. 147
Bruges, i. 168
Brune, Marshal, i. 116 *note*; ii. 150 *note*, 202
Brussels, i. 105, 168, 179, 222; ii. 133
Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, inaccuracy of, i. 25
—— inaccuracy of, i. 31
Buck, Adam, i. 44
Buenos Ayres, i. 249
Bulletin, the, i. xxxvi
Bunbury, Henry William, i. 44
Buratti, Pietro, ii. 148
Burdett, Francis, i. 92
Burgos, i. 268
Burke, Edmund, i. xxvii, 30, 91, 97
—— Master, i. 21
—— Richard, i. 30

Burney, Dr. Charles, i. 77
Burton's, Mr., collection, ii. 22 *note*
Busaco, i. 268, 280 *note*, 288, 310
Byng, Admiral, i. 48
Byron, Lord, i. 58, 266, 283; ii. 1

C

Cadiz, i. 224, 228
Cadoudal, George, i. 212
—— Pichegu plot, the, i. xxxii
Cain, Georges, ii. 29 *note*
Cairo, i. 120, 123, 124; ii. 179
Calais, i. 168
Calcutta, i. 23
Calverley, C. S., i. xviii
Cambacérès, J. J. de (Duke of Parma), i. 129 *note*; ii. 26 *note*, 150 and *note*
Cambridge, Duke of, i. 179; ii. 26, 40
Camden, Earl, i. 91, 213
Campbell, Colonel, i. 353, 357
Camperdown, ii. 209 *note*
—— navy of Holland shattered at, i. lxii
Campo Formio, Treaty of, i. xlv, 101; ii. 146, 205 *note*
Canary Islands, i. 391
Canning, George, i. 49, 77, 117 *note*, 258, 262
—— on Pitt, i. xxxix
Cantillon, ii. 285, 286
Cape of Good Hope, capture of the, i. lxii
Caprera, Cardinal, i. 146
Caricatures possess a real historical value, i. lxvii
—— power of, in 1789, 1790, i. viii
—— primitive forms of, i. xvii
Carlisle, 6th Earl of, i. 254 *note*
Carnot, Lazare, i. 83, 130
Caroline Matilda of Denmark, i. 57
Carrington, Lord, i. 222
Castiglione, ii. 209 *note*
Castlereagh, Lord, i. 77, 213, 244, 268, 337
Catherine, Empress of Russia, i. 138; ii. 61
Catherine of Würtemberg, Princes i. xlii
Caulaincourt, i. 317 *note*; ii. 126
—— (General Duc de Vicenza ii. 126
—— in German caricature, i. l
Cawdor, Lord, i. 101
Cawse, John, i. 27, 45, 46, 53, 5 131, 133, 155, 203, 219
Celli, Gaetano, booklet by, ii. 15
Cenis, Mont, i. xlvii, 138
Ceylon, surrender of, i. lxii
C. F., ii. 217
Chambord, Comte de, ii. 269
Champaubert, i. 347
Champfleury (Jules Fleury), ii. 2 88
—— the esteem in which he he Gillray, ii. 189
—— *Histoire de la Caricature*, vii, viii, 32 and *note*, 35 ar *note*; ii. 25 *note*
Chaplin, Rev. William, i. 339 *no*
Chaptal, Jean Antoine, i. 130
—— on Napoleon's indifferen to art, i. xxxi
—— Memoirs of, i. xl
Charles IV. of Spain, i. xlix, 2
Charles V., i. 168, 179
Charles X., i, 90; ii. 29, 98, 27 273, 275
—— death of, i. vii
Charles, Archduke, ii. 107 and *no*
Charles, William, i. 47, 225
Charlotte, Queen, French caric tures of, i. ix
—— attacks on, ii. 26
Charon, L. F., ii. 29
Chasselat, ii. 29
Château d'Eu, i. xii
—— sale of the contents of, 273 *note*
Château de Marrac, i. 267, 270 *no*
Chatham, 2nd Earl of, i. 91, 144
—— *Victory* on the stocks at, 32 *note*
Châtillon, Congress of, i. lx, 34 ii. 126
Chaumont, ii. 126
Chelsea Hospital, i. 33
—— Gillray Square, i. 35 *note*
—— the Moravian Chapel ar burial-ground, i. 34 *note*
—— Strewan Square renamed, 35 *note*

Chevalier, Hippolyte, ii. 30 *note*
Christiania, i. xii
Cichevki, ii. 175
Cintra, Convention of, i. 279
Citoyen Francais incurs Napoleon's displeasure, i. xxxvii
Ciudad Rodrigo, i. 268
Clarence, Duke of, i. 92
—— peccadilloes of, ii. 203
Clary, Desirée Eugénie, i. 85
Cobenzl, Count de, ii. 146
Coblenz, exiled princes at, ii. 33 *note*
Cochrane, Stock Exchange Scandal, the, i. 350
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, i. 94; ii. 202
—— his attitude to French revolution, i. xxvi
Combe, George, *Hudibrastic Poem*, i. xii, 13, 25
—— William, *Dr. Syntax*, i. 368
Commandini, Alfred, ii. 152 *note*
Compton, Bishop, i. 52
Consort, Prince, letters of, ii. 278
Cooke, J. C., i. 203
Copenhagen, i. xii, 144 *note*, 145
—— the bombardment of, i. 143, 262
Cornwallis, Lord, i. 148, 152, 153, 154, 157
"Corporal Violet," toast of, ii. 93
"Corresponding Societies," account of, i. 86, 87
Corsica, i. 80, 82
Corunna, battle of, i. 268
Cotman, T. S., i. 358
Crabbe, George, *The Parish Register*, i. 77
Cruickshank, Eliza, her caricature of the "Four Prues," i. 29
—— death of, i. 29
Cruikshank, George, i. 6, 25, 29, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 56, 78, 234, 259, 263 *note*, 265, 271, 272, 276, 281, 283, 296, 297, 299, 303, 306, 309, 310, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 323, 328, 332, 333, 336, 337, 339, 340, 345, 347, 348, 350 *note*, 351 and *note*, 354, 356, 358, 359, 361, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 390, 391; ii. 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 54, 55, 91, 104, 136, 164, 171 and *note*, 191, 217, 239, 244, 269 271, 272, 278, 279, 283
Cruikshank, George, as Colonel Commandant, i. 42 *note*
—— biographers of, i. 24
—— birth of, i. 24, 27
—— early work of, i. 26
—— French adaptation of one of his prints, ii. 51
—— serial appearances of his caricatures, i. 2
—— his sword, i. 43 *note*
Cruikshank, Isaac, i. 10, 33, 44, 50, 59, 90, 94, 98, 99, 106, 111, 119, 122, 125, 135, 141, 145, 158, 161, 163, 164, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 192, 216, 221, 227, 230, 250, 263, 264, 265, 272, 298, 309, 341; ii. 102
—— biographers of, i. 26, 27
—— birth of, i. 23
—— death of, i. 30
—— enrols himself as a private, i. 29
—— his life in London, i. 27, 28
—— his water-colour designs, i. 28 and *note*
—— originates the "cage" caricature, i. 4
—— versatility of, i. 28
—— Isaac Robert, i. 41
—— —— birth of, i. 27
—— Mary, death of, i. 42
—— Mrs., i. 30, 41
Cruikshanks, the, i. 72, 288; ii. 103, 123, 186, 189
Crawford and Balcarres, Earl of, collection of, i. xiii
Cromwell, Oliver, ii. 185
Crosne, i. 130
Crowquill, Alfred, ii. 282 *note*
Culloden, i. 28, 29, 33
Cunea, engraver, ii. 155
Curtis, Sir W., i. 299
Custine, General, at Frankfort, 1792, i. lvi
"C. W.," i. 375

D

Dabos, Laurent, i. 344
D'Abrantès, Duchess, i. 82, 83
D'Affry, Citizen, i. 160
Dahl, Michael, burial-place of, i. 38

Dahlgren, Dr. E. W., ii. 216, 255
Dähling, Heinrich Anton, ii. 242 and *note*, 243
Dalbon, A., ii. 156
Dalrymple, Sir John, i. 109 and *note*
Danton, G. J., i. 80
D'Artois, Comte, afterwards Charles X., i. 90; ii. 31
Daumier, Honoré, ii. 30 *note*, 96, 98, 276
David, Louis, ii. 33 *note*, 163
—— classicism of, ii. 28
Davoust, Marshal, i. 228
Dawe, R.A., George, i. 27
Dayot, Armand, *Napoléon*, i. vii
De Burgh, J. H., *O Gloria!* ii. 290
D'Enghien, Duc, i. 212, 223; ii. 41, 79 *note*
Delalot, Charles, i. 83
Derby, i. 3
—— porcelain at, ii. 258
Deschwanden, ii. 212
Desmoulins, Camille, i. xxxviii
Desrais, caricaturist, ii. 29
Detaille, i. 32 *note*
Dibdin, T. J., i. 24, 25; ii. 279
Dictionary of National Biography, "Moutard" Woodward, i. 23
—— scant mention of caricature, i. 25
Dilke, Sir Charles, i. 35
Dillon, Lieut.-Colonel, i. 222
Directory, the caricature under, i. xxx
Dodgin, Captain, ii. 21
Dorchester, King's Arms Hotel, i. 32 *note*
Dordrecht, ii. 189
Dorset Cottage, caricature seen in, ii. 256
Douglas, R.N., Captain R. J. H., *The Works of George Cruikshank*, i. xi *note*, 24, 26, 42, 297 and *note*, 299, 356; ii. 15 *note*, 16, 21, 22 and *note*, 171 *note*
Dowlah, Surajah, i. 23
Doyle, Richard, ii. 282 *note*, 283, 284
Drake, Sir Francis, British Minister at Munich, i. ix, 211; ii. 27, 42
Dresden, i. 308, 310, 312, 33 331; ii. 26 *note*, 243 note
—— Talma plays at, ii. 50
Drissa, the army of, i. 311
Dublin, i. 181
Ducos, Roger, i. 129, 132
Dumouriez, General, i. 58; 276
Duncan, Admiral, i. lxii; ii. 2 *note*
Dundas, Henry, 1st Viscou Melville, i. xxvii, 90, 91, 1 *note*
Dundonald, Lord, ii. 80 *note*
Dunker, Anton, ii. 187, 208, 21 211, and *note*
—— Moral and Political Courie i. 98 *note*; ii. 203 and *note*
—— prints by, i. xii
—— *Révolutions Almanachs*, 101
Dunkirk, i. 168
Dupont, General, i. li, 267, 26 272
Duroc, General, i. 330, 334
Dutch, apply caricature to politic i. xxviii
—— art, its rise in caricature, xxi
—— caricaturists in the sixteen century, fame of, ii. 184
—— caricature in toys, i. *note*
—— caricatures, lack of origi ality and force, i. lxiv–v
—— the, their struggle again Spain, i. xxi
Dwina, the, i. 308

E

Eckmühl, the battles of, i. 286
Edis, Colonel, C.B., i. 43
Egypt, i. 112, 118, 119, 125, 12 134, 138, 146, 229; ii. 143
—— expedition to, ii. 104
—— Napoleon in, i. ix, xxx
El Arish, i. 124
Elba, i. lxiv, 6, 37, 41, 71, 331, 35 352, 353, 369, 372; ii. 54, 5 89, 129, 145, 195, 196, 197, 23 255, 257
Elba, caricatures relating to, ii. 5 56

Elbe, the, ii. 192
Eldon, Lord, i. 144, 213, 301
Elizabethan ballads, i. xxi
Elmes, William, i. 46, 307, 313, 315, 317, 324, 325, 332, 333, 347, 349 ; ii. 11
England, Princess Royal of, i. 235, 340
English caricature, its influence on Russian artists, i. lv.
—— Hogarth paves the way for, i. xxv
—— originates the "cage" idea, i. 4–8
—— its rise under Queen Anne, i. xxii
English caricatures, Dutch critic's praise of, i. lxvii
English trade, Napoleon's attempted blockade of, i. xlii
Ense, von, ii. 244
Epernay, Mayor of, i. 259
Erfurt, i. 285, 288, 295, 308, 310, 330
Erskine, Lord, i. 90, 91, 239
Espin, Rev. Thomas, i. 339 *note*
Esser, W., i. lxiv ; ii. 186, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 243
—— his work criticised by Dr. Greve, ii. 190, 194
Essex, Earl of, ii. 185
Essling, ii. 220
Europe, Sovereigns of (1796), i. 88, 89, 90
Evans, R. H., *Historical Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, i. xi *note*
Eylau, the battle of, i. 257

F

"F. C.," ii. 154
Fagan, Robert, ii. 155
Fairfax, General, ii. 185
Farnborough, tombs of Napoleon III. and his son, ii. 89
Farnham, ii. 226
Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, i. 267, 283 ; ii. 163
—— at Bayonne, i. xlix–lii
Ferrara, i. 95, 99
Ferrol, i. 224
Fesch, Cardinal, ii. 26 *note*
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, i. 287, 329 ; ii. 102, 110, 113, 244
Fiévée, memoirs of, i. xl
Fishguard, Pembrokeshire, i. 100, 101
—— French land at, i. 28
Fitzpatrick, Richard, i. 74
Fitzwilliam, Earl, i. 117
Flamen, Albert, ii. 185
Florence, ii. 161
F. M. B., ii. 127
Fock, W., ii. 193
Fontainebleau, i. 286, 350, 351, 353, 361, 374
Fontenoy, i. 33
Fores, Samuel William, ancestors of, i. 56, 57
—— as a writer, i. 321, 322
—— burial-place, of, i. 59
—— death of, i. 58
—— descendants of, i. 60
—— shop a meeting-place for celebrities, i. 58
"Fores's," Nelson's visit to, i. 60
Forestier, caricaturist, ii. 29
Forsyth, William, ii. 17 *note*
Fortescue, Dr. G. K., ed. *Bonaparte and the Consulate*, i. xxxvi *note*
Foster, Rev. J., i. 339 *note*
Fouché, Napoleon's letter to, i. xxxii
—— memoirs of, i. xl
Fox, Charles James, i. 58, 77, 91, 92, 93, 97, 100, 104, 111 *note*, 115, 116, 150 *note*, 156, 157, 218, 238, 239, 240, 245, 246, 247, 249 ; ii. 6, 105, 268
—— caricatures of, i. x
—— in caricature, 1794–96, i. xxvii
—— corpulence of, i. 90
—— lodgings in Piccadilly, i. 74
Francis I., ii. 87
Francis II., i. xxii, xxxiv, 143, 286
Frankfort-on-the-Main, i. lvi, 341
Fraser Sale, the, 1901, i. xv
Frederick, Elector of Würtemberg, i. 235
Frederick the Great, i. 23, 252 ; ii. 218 *note*
—— tomb of, i. 237
Frederick William, King of Hanover, i. 245, 250

Frederick William III. of Prussia, in French caricature, i. xliii
—— in German caricature, i. lviii
Fréjus, i. 125, 354; ii. 93
French caricature, allegation of bribery against England, i. xxxiii *note*
—— balance between the pro-Napoleonic and anti-Napoleonic, i. lxv
—— the decrease in from the beginning of 1816, ii. 83
—— free from the coarseness often disfiguring English and Spanish, i. lxv
—— frequent use of pun in, ii. 84
—— impartial attitude assumed in the spring of 1815 towards, ii. 68
—— suppressed by government, i. xxii
—— worthy of special commendation, ii. lxvi
—— under Louis XIV., i. xxviii
French epigram, i. xxix
—— Freemasonry, order of, ii. 150 *note*
—— imperialism, i. xxxv
—— invasion of Russia, i. liii
—— Press, Napoleon's control over, i. xxxvi–xxxix
Frere, John Hookham, i. 117 *note*
Friedland, i. 255, 257, 310
Frog, device of the, i. xxxi
Fronde, the, i. xxviii
Fuchs, Edward, ii. 101, 103, 104, 105, 106
—— *Die Karikatur der Europäischen Völker vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit*, i. vii; ii. 100, 162, 164
—— on Napoleon's fear of satire, i. xxxviii *note*
Fuentes d'Onoro, i. 268, 280 *note*
Fulham, makers of stoneware at, ii. 259

G

Gall, Franz Joseph, ii. 215
Gallo, Marquis del, ii. 146
Gambier, Admiral, i. 263 *note*
Gantheaume, Admiral, ii. 150 *note*
Gargoyles, i. xx
Garrick, David, i. 94 *note*
Garrick, Mrs. David, etching of, i. 41
Gaudin, Martin Michel Charles, i. 130
Gavarni, ii. 30 *note*
Geissler, Gottfried, ii. 102
Genappe, i. 20
Geneva, i. 137; ii. 208 *note*
Genoa, i. 129 *note*
—— Napoleon annexes, i. xxxiv
George II., i. 240 *note*
—— III., i. 46, 48, 56, 89, 130, 133, 141 *note*, 148, 162, 164, 166, 167, 215 *note*, 228, 235, 352; ii. 39, 41, 47
—— attacks on, ii. 26
—— caricatured as John Bull, i. xxiv
—— declaration of war against the French Republic, i. 73
—— "Declaration" of, i. 170
—— displeasure of, i. 241
—— French caricatures of, i. ix
—— good material for French satire, i. lxv
—— numerous caricatures of, i. x
—— popularity of, i. xxvi
—— the sister of, i. 57
Geraud, Baron, i. 20
German caricature, its double facing, i. lvi–lviii
—— its national rise in 1813, i. lix
Germany, Emperor of, i. 152
—— Napoleonic caricature of 1813–1815, i. xii
Ghent, i. 168
—— departure of Louis for, ii. 61
—— the treaty of, i. 328
Gibraltar, i. 61
Gifford, William, i. 117 *note*
—— assaulted by Wolcot, i. 73
Gillray, James, i. viii, xxiv, 32, 34, 41, 43, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56 59, 71, 90, 92, 93, 94, 101, 106, 109, 110, 111 and *note*, 114, 117 and *note*, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 130, 132, 134, 136 *note*, 147, 148, 151, 152, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 170, 171, 172, 176, 181, 184, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 200, 201 *note*, 204, 211, 212, 214, 218, 224, 225, 226, 229, 231, 233, 234, 239, 241, 244, 245, 247, 249, 252, 255,

258, 261, 262, 271, 280 *note*, 289, 290, 291, 292, 295, 296, 300, 302, 309, 315, 341, 352, 390; ii. 6, 26 *note*, 35 *note*, 102, 103, 104, 105, 114, 122, 139, 140, 141, 143, 154, 162, 164, 165, 186, 187, 189, 233, 235, 235 *note*, 237 *note*, 244
Gillray, biographers of, i. 24
—— birth of, i. 23, 33
—— burial of, i. 38
—— career, i. 36
—— claims as a caricaturist, i. 35
—— death of, i. 37
—— entry of death in register, i. 39
—— funeral of, ii. 91
—— grave of, i. 39
—— letters from, i. 36, 37
—— Paris artists borrow from, i. lxv
—— verses on a famous beef-shop, i. 40
—— vogue on the Continent, i. lxvii
—— worthy of a monument near that of Nelson, i. lxvii
—— James, the elder, birth and death of, i. 34
—— Square, i. 35 *note*
Girardet, Abram Louis, ii. 102, 203, 215, 216
Gneisenau, Field-Marshal, i. 330
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, i. 330
—— *Hermann und Dorothea*, i. lvi
Goldsmith, Oliver, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, i. xxiv
Gourgaud, General, i. 347
Goya, caricatures by, i. li; ii. 163, 164
Graham, General, i. 268
Grattan, Henry, i. 77
Grand Army, the, i. liv
Grand-Cartaret, John, i. 32, 46, 47, 389 *note*; ii. 101
—— *Les Mœurs et la Caricature*, i. vii, lvii *note*; ii. 100
—— *Napoleon en Images*, i. xv, 47 *note*, 48 and *note*, 231 *note*; ii. 211 *note*
—— on the power of English caricature, i. xxviii
Greek forms of satire, i. xix
Grego, Joseph, i. 110 *note*
Grego, his book on Napoleonic caricature, i. viii
—— *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, i. xi *note*, 24, 30 and *note*, 48 *note*
Grenoble, i. 374
Grenville, Lord (William Wyndham), i. 90, 91, 138, 147 *note*, 238, 258, 300, 374
Grenvilles, the, i. 218
Greve, Dr. H. E., i. lxvii, 35; ii. 187, 189, 194
—— criticism of Esser's work, ii. 190, 194
—— *The Elsevir Illustrated Magazine*, ii. 186, 188 and *note*
Grey, Sir Charles, i. 91, 92, 239
Gros, Baron de, ii. 145
Grossbeeren, engagement at, ii. 121
Grosvenor, Major, ii. 35
Grouchy, General, i. li
"G. Sauler Farnham," i. 48
Guadaloupe, i. 337
Guildhall, the, i. 365

H

Hackert, Jakob Philip, ii. 211 *note*
Hagen, Dr. Karl; *The Artist of the War of Liberty; Johann Michael Voltz*, ii. 107 and *note*
Hague, the, i. lxiv; ii. 184
—— flight of Louis Bonaparte from, i. lxiii
Haines, Field-Marshal Sir Frederick, ii. 21
Halévy, Leon, ii. 32, 47, 48, 60, 88, 91
Halle, ii. 102, 103, 139
Hallé, Noel, ii. 211 *note*
Hamburg, i. 165; ii. 101
—— caricature shops in, ii. 106
Hanger, George, i. 150 *note*
Hanover, i. 179; ii. 39, 243 *note*
—— King of, Frederick William, i. 245, 250
Hanse towns, the, i. 286
Hapsburg, House of, i. 301
—— fall of the, i. lvii
Hardenberg, Karl August, i. 329
Hardy, Thomas, ii. 242
—— *The Trumpet Major*, ii. 256

Harlow, George Henry, burial-place of, i. 38
Harrowby, Lord, i. 212
Hassell, T., ii. 11
Hastings, Marquis of, i. 111 *note*
Hautecœur, Jules, private collection of, ii. 37 *note*
Hawkesbury, Lord, i. 143, 147, 152, 153, 154, 170, 213, 268
Hawkins, Edward, i. 45
"H. B.," ii. 269
Head, Sir Francis, ii. 286
Heath, Charles, i. 46
—— James, i. 46
—— William, i. 300, 301, 312; ii. 272
—— William, of Halifax, i. 46
Heine, Heinrich, i. 309
—— *Das Buch Le Grand*, ii. 170
Hennequin, P. A., ii. 29, 33 *note*
Henry IV., ii. 258
Hermann's *Die deutsche Karikatur*, i. vii; ii. 105
Hertzberg, H. von, ii. 107 *note*
Hess, David, ii. 102, 113, 185 *note*, 203, 211, 215
—— account of, ii. 212
—— his *nom de plume*, ii. 215
—— *Révolutions Almanachs*, ii. 101
Hesse-Cassel, Elector of, i. xliii, 254; ii. 27, 46 *note*
History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature, i. 47 *note*, 49 *note*; ii. 26 *note*
Hoche, Lazare, i. 86, 88, 94, 101; —— statue of, ii. 31
Hofbauer, F., ii. 243 *note*
Hofer, Andreas, i. 287
Hoffmann, E. T. W., ii. 103
Hogarth, William, i. 34, 35, 36, 43, 94, 109; ii. 232
—— death of, i. 23
—— his "England" and "France," i. 23
—— prepares the way for political satire, i. xxv
Hohenlinden, i. 138, 140
Holbein, *Dance of Death*, i. xviii
Holland, *see* Dutch
—— annexation of, i. lxiii
—— miseries of, i. lxiii
—— Navy shattered at Camperdown, i. lxii
Holland, William, i. 69
Holstein, i. 286
Hood, Lord, i. 81
Hook, Theodore, ii. 17 and *note*, 18, 19
"Hop, Step, and Jump," Song, i. 140 *note*
Horace, i. 23
Hortense, Queen, i. 375
Howick, Lord, i. 238, 262 *note*
Hudibrastic Poem, by George Combe, i. xii
Hugo, Victor, i. 285, 286, 311, 374; ii. 1, 25, 57
Hullin, General, nickname of, ii. 79 *note*
Humbert, General, i. 148 *note*
Humphrey, George, i. 49, 56
—— "Mistress," attention to Gillray, during the last days of his life, i. 38
—— "Mistress," death of, i. 56
—— "Mistress," Gillray's work for, i. 36
Humphreys, A. L., *Piccadilly Bookmen: Memorials of the House of Hatchard*, i. 73 and *note*
Hutton, James, burial-place of, i. 33
Huyman, burial-place of, i, 38

I

Ibbetson, Denzil, ii. 17 and *note*, 18 and *note*, 19, 20, 21, 22 and *note*, 23
Ile d'Aix, ii. 1
Inveraray, i. 27
Invisible, i. xxxvi
Ionian Isles, i. xlvi
Isabey, Jean Baptiste, i. 388; ii. 25, 29, 33, 388
Italia, ii. 153, 159 *note*, 160 *note*
Italian caricatures, variations in, i. xlv–xlix

J

Jacques Bonhomme as a national type, i. xxxi
Jaffa, i. 124
Jaime, E., editor of *Le Musée de la Caricature*, ii. 32, 44 *note*
James II., his papistical tendencies ridiculed, ii. 185

Janin, Jules, ii. 32, 35, 52
Jefferson, President, i. 328
Jena, i. 237, 251, 253, 296
Jerrold, Blanchard, *Life of George Cruikshank*, i. 24, 27, 41
Jervis, Admiral, i. 101
John Bull, Dr. Arbuthnot's sketch of, i. xxii
—— becomes the national type, i. xxiv
—— as a national type, i. xxxi
—— as a prosperous tradesman, i. xlii
Johnson, Dr., i. xxv
Jonghe, Clement de, ii. 185
Josephine, Empress, i. 160, 283, 286, 300; ii. 150 *note*
Jourdan, Marshal, ii. 145 *note*
Journal des Curés, i. xlii
Journal des Débats incurs Napoleon's displeasure, i. xxxvii
Journal de Paris incurs Napoleon's displeasure, i. xli
Juan, Gulf of, i. 354, 375
—— landing of Louis XVIII., ii. 62
Judenbourg, ii. 107 *note*
Junius, letters of, i. lxi
Junot, General, Duke of Abrantes, i. 278, 296
Juvenal, i. xx

K

Kalicheff, M., i. 138
Kalisch, i. 308, 328
Katzbach, valleys of the, ii. 135 *note*
Kean, Edmund, i. 348
Kellermann, Marshal, i. 137; ii. 150
Kleber, General, i. 126, 134
—— statue of, ii. 31
Kneisel, A., ii. 243 *note*
Knight, S., i. 47
Kœnigsberg, i. 308
Kollin, battle of, i. 23
Körner, Karl Thodor, i. 329; ii. 110
Kovno, the bridge of, i. 312
Krasnoe, the battle of, i. 311
Kray, Baron, victory of, ii. 148
Kutusoff, General, i. 314 *note*

L

Lacépède, Count de, ii. 150 *note*
Laeken, ii. 133 and *note*
Lafayette, caricatures of, i. ix
Lamballe, Princesse de, murder of, i. 24
Lambert, Daniel, ii. 243 *note*, 246
Lamberti, ii. 148
Lampoons in verse, favoured by the Greeks, i. xix
Lanark, birthplace of James Gillray's father, i. 33
Lane, B., ii. 243
Langlois, E. H., ii. 29
Lannes, Marshal, i. 137, 228, 254
—— statue of, ii. 31
Laon, i. 347, 373
La Rapée, i. 186, 199
La Réveillière-Lépeaux, i. 130
La Rothière, the battle of, i. 347
Lascelles, Colonel, ii. 21
La Trobe, Rev. Benjamin, burial-place of, i. 33
Latta, William, i. 70; ii. 196
—— collection of, i. xiii, 173
Lauderdale, Earl of, i. 115 *note*, 247
Lauderdale-Yarmouth Mission, the, i. 249
Lausanne, i. 116 *note*
Leamington, i. 47
Lebrun, C. F., i. 129 and *note*
—— epigram by, i. 128
—— Lieut.-Governor in Holland, letter to, ii. 184
Lecomte, Henry, *Napoléon et l'Empire*, i. ix
Ledru, General, i. 305
Lee, Mr., i. 362
Leech, John, ii. 269, 282 *note*
Leeds, i. 3
—— porcelain at, ii. 258
—— ware jug, Isaac Cruikshank's sketch on, i. 28
Leipzic, i. lix, 16, 63, 71, 231, 284, 326, 331, 338, 339, 341, 343, 347, 349, 387; ii. 12, 26 *note*, 28, 52, 101, 102, 103, 117, 118, 170, 193, 243, 244
Leith, i. 27
Leoben, ii. 107 *note*, 108
Leopold II. of Austria, i. lxii
Le Poittevin, M., i. xlii *note*
Le Roux, Paul, ii. 28

Letourneur, ii. 208 *note*
Lille, i. xxvii, 168
Lillibulero, i. xxii
Lips, J. Heinrich, *Obscuranten Almanachs*, ii. 101
Lissa, battle of, i. 23
Liverpool, Earl of. *See* Hawkesbury
Liverpool, porcelain at, ii. 258
Lodi, i. 86; ii. 145, 209 *note*
Loizelet, ii. 33
Lombardy, i. 86
—— plains of, ii. 152
London, i. 104, 105, 118, 137, 143, 152, 153, 186, 233, 238, 240, 254, 269, 314, 322, 326, 338, 339, 347, 375, 386; ii. 23, 30, 152, 184, 203, 243, 259, 278, 283
—— early portraits of Napoleon, i. 87 and *note*
—— publishers' reproduction of pro-Napoleonic puzzle prints, ii. 92
—— the brain of the world, ii. 102
Longhi, Giuseppe, ii. 144
Longwood, i. lxi, lxiv; ii. 18 *note*, 20, 23, 277, 288
Louis XIV., ii. 184, 185
—— wars with the Dutch, i. xxii
Louis XV., ii. 220
—— caricature under, i. xxix
Louis XVI., i. 80; ii. 210 *note*
—— execution of, i. ix, 28
Louis XVII., death of, in the Temple, ii. 66 *note*
Louis XVIII., i. 12, 90, 286; ii. 12, 15, 27, 29, 31, 58, 59, 61, 62, 66 *note*, 97, 197, 269, 272
—— inspirer of lampoons, ii. 57
Louis Napoleon, ii. 275, 285
—— flight from the Hague, i. lxiii
Louis Philippe, i. 49, 59, 74, 90; ii. 32, 58, 60 *note*, 89, 274 *note*, 276, 277, 284
—— abdication of, ii. 275
—— chosen King of the French, ii. 273
—— collector of caricatures, i. xii
—— his collection of anti-Napoleonic caricatures, ii. 273 *note*
—— the great-granddaughter of, ii. 290
—— pear-face caricatures of, i. vii
—— his present to Talleyrand, ii. 272 *note*
Louisa of Prussia, Queen, i. lviii, 287
Louisiana, ceded to France, i. xlix
Lowe, Sir Hudson, ii. 12, 17 *note*
Lucerne, i. 116 *note*
Lunéville, the treaty of, i. 143, 152
Lusatia, i. lix
Luther, Martin, ii. 219 *note*
—— caricatures of, i. xx
Lützen, battle of, i. 330
Lyons, i. 152, 153

M

M'Cleary's shop and reproductions, i. 78, 79
Macdonald, Marshal, i. 138; ii. 135 *note*
Mack, General, i. 228, 232
—— in French caricature, i. xliii
M'Naughton, Mary, i. 27
Maddalena, bombardment of, i. 80
Madeira, ii. 18
Madison, President, i. 328, 366
Madrid, i. 267, 268, 271 *note*, 280, 283, 296; ii. 87
—— Royal library at, ii. 169
Maida, i. 249
Maitland, Captain, i. 388; ii. 76
Malbosquet battery, attack on, i. 81
Maleuvre, Pierre, ii. 29
Malmaison, i. 146, 237, 375; ii. 89
—— Isabey's painting at, i. 388
Malmesbury, Earl of, i. 147 *note*
Malo-Jaroslawitz, i. liii
Malone, Edmund, i. 77
Malplaquet, i. 258
Malta, i. 116, 120, 138, 159, 175; ii. 34, 35, 150, 155
Malton, Thomas, i. 66
Mansel, Dr. William Lort, i. 1 *note*
Mantua, i. 101, 129 *note*, 137; ii. 145
Mapletoft, Dr., i. 339 *note*
"M. P.," ii. 154
Marat, Jean Paul, i. ix
Marcus, ii. 189
Marengo, battle of, i. xlvii, 137; ii. 143, 259
Maret, Hugues Bernard, Duke of Bassano, i. 130
Maria Luisa, Queen of Spain, i. 267
Marie Louise, i. 283, 301, 308, 330; ii. 91, 94
Marks, Lewis, i. 47, 388; ii. 6

Marly, i. 237
Marmont, Marshal, i. 179, 228, 268, 280
Marryat, Captain, C.B., ii. 21
Marsden, Mr., ii. 18
Marseilles, i. 85
Martial, i. xx
Martin, B. E., *Old Chelsea*, i. 34 *note*
Massena, Marshal, i. 268, 280 *note*, 314; ii. 150 *note*
—— statue of, ii. 31
Mât de Cocagne, ii. 12 and *note*, 81 *note*
Maurice, Prince of Orange, ii. 187
Mauritius, ii. 17 *note*
Mayence, ii. 275
Mayer, Godefroy, ii. 273 *note*
—— on Napoleonic reproductions, i. xxx
—— Louis, ii. 223, 225 and *note*, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231
Maynial, J., *Revue Biblioiconographique*, ii. 32 *note*
Meger, J. H., ii. 212
Mehée de la Touche, Count, i. 211
Melas, General, i. 137
Melville, Lord, i. 136 *note*, 213
Memoirs of Miot de Melito, i. xl *note*
Memoirs of the Duchess of Dino, ii. 272 *note*
Ménéval, *Memoires*, i. 164 *note*
Menou, General, i. 83, 146
Mercure, Le, incurs Napoleon's displeasure, i. xxxviii
Merfield, General, ii. 107
Mervelt, Comte de, ii. 146
Meteor, The, i. 2, 348
Metternich, Prince, i. 287, 329, 330, 338
Metz, i. 295
Meuse, the, i. lxiii
Middle Ages, satire in the, i. xx
Milan, i. xiii, 86, 87, 137; ii. 143, 145, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152 and *note*, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161
—— Count Prina killed at rising in, ii. 157 *note*
—— Napoleon at, i. xxxii
Millesimo, i. 86; ii. 209 *note*
Milton, John, gayer moods of, i. xvii
Mincio, the, i. 137, 138
Minorca, i. 48
Mirabeau, Count, i. 97
Mississippi Scheme in France, ridicule of, ii. 185
Mitau, James, i. 66
Modena, i. xlvi, 95
Moët, Mayor of Epernay, i. 259
Mollien, memoirs of, i. xl
Moncey, Marshal, i. li, 137
Mondovi, i. 86
Moniteur, Le, i. xxxvii, xl
Monnier, Henry, ii. 30 *note*
Montebello, i. 137
Monte Video, i. 249
Montmirail, i. 347
Morat, ii. 208 *note*
Moravian Messenger, The, i. 34 *note*
More, Hannah, i. 77; ii. 220
Moreau, General, i. 138, 212, 330
Morghen, Raffaelle, ii. 144
Morley, Lord, *Cromwell*, ii. 288
Mornington, Lord, i. 92
Morpeth, Lord, i. 254; ii. 27
—— in French caricature, i. xxxiii *note*
Moscow, i. 309, 311, 312, 325, 331; ii. 49, 181, 259 *note*
—— conflagration of, i. liv
—— march to, i. 238
—— retreat from, i. lxv; ii. 173, 193
—— shooting of peasants at, ii. 175
Moskowa, battle of, i. 311
Mouchet, A., i. 66
Moudon, ii. 208 *note*
Mulgrave, Lord, i. 91
Müller Catalogue, the, ii. 193
Munich, i. xli, 211, 137; ii. 27, 42
—— Drake in, i. ix
Murat, Marshal, i. 83, 228, 312, 347; ii. 150 *note*, 161 and *note*
—— in Spanish caricature, i. li
Musée Carnavalet, i. xii; ii. 28, 166 *note*, 167 *note*, 173
Musée de la Caricature, i. vii, viii; ii. 32, 33 *note*, 35 *note*, 47, 52, 60, 61 and *note*, 88, 91 *note*

N

Namur, i. 168
Napier, General W., i. 25
Naples, i. 86, 267; ii. 256
—— Acton in, i. ix
—— Queen of, ii. 27

Napoleon I., at Boulogne, i. xxv
—— caricatures of *lèse-majesté*, i. xxxi
—— crowned in Paris (1804), i. xxxix
—— encourages caricature, i. x
—— his control over the Press, i. xxxvi–xxxix, xli
—— his coronation at Milan, i. xxxii
—— his indifference to art, i. xxxi
—— his policy against England, i. xxxiii
—— his sensitiveness to satire, i. xxxviii *note*
—— his use of caricature, i. xxxi–xxxv
—— his use of the drama, i. ix
—— his victories in Italy (1796–97), i. xxv
—— in German caricature, i. lix–lxi
—— in Italian caricature, i. xlv–xlix
—— in Russian caricature, i. lv
—— most extensively caricatured, i. x
—— rarely caricatured before 1798, i. xxx
Napoleon III., i. 74; ii. 25, 59, 274 *note*, 275, 277, 281
—— edits his uncle's correspondence, i. xxxiii
—— his tomb at Farnborough, ii. 89
Nash, Frederick, i. 66
Nelson, i. 58, 61, 81, 118, 119, 120, 121, 127, 144 *note*, 145, 146, 170; ii. 42, 258
—— attacks on, ii. 26
—— French caricatures of, i. ix
—— his funeral car, i. 63
—— statue of, ii. 189
—— visit to "Fores's," i. 60
Neuchatel, ii. 215
New York, ii. 210 *note*
Ney, Marshal, i. 228, 374
Nice, i. 86
Nieman, the, i. 259, 311, 312
—— crossing of the, ii. 172
Nile, battle of the, i. 113, 118, 236, 239 *note*; ii. 35, 147
Nixon, John, i. 26, 196, 205, 357
Nördlinger, ii. 107
Norfolk, Duke of, i. 91, 92, 93, 115, 116
Novara, ii. 158
Novi, battle of, i. 129 *note*; ii. 149
Nuremberg, ii. 106, 109, 131, 134

O

O'Connor, Arthur, i. 97
Oman, Professor, i. li
O'Meara, Dr., ii. 17 *note*
Oporto, ii. 256
Orange, House of, period of exile, i. lxii
—— Prince of, ii. 187
Orgon, i. 354
Orleans, i. 102
Orthez, i. 268
Ostend, i. 168
Otto, L. G., i. 146, 147
Oudinot, Marshal, ii. 120 *note*
Oxford, University of, i. 300

P

Paine, Thomas, ii. 220
Palm of Nuremberg, execution of, i. lvii
Panckouke, Charles Joseph, i. xxxviii
Parini, ii. 148
Paris, i. 30, 31, 37, 82, 83, 85, 103, 104, 105, 128, 130, 132, 137, 138, 151, 156, 157, 158, 164, 170, 175, 184, 209, 236, 249, 252, 254, 259, 285, 294, 312, 314, 327, 328, 331, 341, 342, 347, 372, 375; ii. 32, 39, 43, 44, 58, 86, 87, 105, 172, 180, 183, 185, 211 *note*, 229, 242 *note*, 244, 269, 276, 278
—— abundance of caricatures appear in 1815, ii. 64
—— publishers of caricatures between 1795 and 1815, ii. 30–32
—— puzzle-prints sold by thousands, ii. 91
—— rise of prices in, ii. 50
—— royalist draughtsmen of, i. lxv
—— the heart of the world, ii. 102
—— violets sold in, ii. 93
Park, Mungo, i. 27
Parma, Duke of, i. 129 *note*

Parr, Dr. Samuel, i. 77
Pars, Henry, i. 62
Passaria, i. 101
Patterson, Miss, i. xli
Paul, Emperor of Russia, i. 138, 142
Pearson's Magazine, i. xxiv *note*
Peel, Sir Robert, i. 21
Peltier, the *émigré*, i. 153
—— the conviction of, i. 164
Pembrokeshire, i. 29
Penn, i. 91
Pepys, Samuel, ii. 219 *note*
Perceval, Spencer, i. 268, 307 *note*
Permon, Mme., i. 82, 83, 85
Perth, i. 27
Peschiera, i. 137
Pettigrew, Dr., i. 27
Petty, Henry, i. 147 *note*, 238
"P. H., Esq.," i. 369
Philadelphia, i. xiii, 173; ii. 196
Philip of Spain, i. xxi
—— bearded by Holland, i. lxiii
Philipon, Charles, ii. 30 *note*, 96, 276
Piacenza, i. xlv
—— battle of, ii. 145
Piccadilly, i. 246, 271
—— booksellers in 1803, i. 73, 74
—— Charles Fox's lodgings in, i. 74
Pichegru, General, i. 212
—— his troops overrun Dutch provinces, i. lxii
Picon, Jacinto Octavio, *Apuntes para la Historia de la Caricatura*, ii. 163 and *note*, 164, 167
Picot, V. M., i. 105; ii. 29, 34
Piedmont, i. 137
Pinelli, Bartolomeo, ii. 155, 159
Pitt, John, 2nd Earl of Chatham, i. 91
—— William, i. 36, 58, 77, 81, 88, 91, 92, 93, 101, 110 *note*, 111 *note*, 116, 125, 130, 141 *note*, 142, 144, 145, 148 *note*, 160, 164, 202, 212, 213, 214, 218, 222, 223, 228, 234 *note*, 238, 239, 241 *note*, 244, 326; ii. 26, 41, 43, 44 and *note*, 104, 105, 268
—— attacks on, ii. 27
—— becomes premier, 1804, i. xxxviii
—— extensively caricatured, i. x
—— French caricatures of, i. ix, x
Pitt, William, his advent to power, 1783, i. xxvi
—— in caricature, 1794–1796, i. xxvii
—— leanness of, i. 90
—— "the English Machiavelli," ii. 44 *note*
—— Clubs, i. 242
Pius VI., i. 98, 99
Pius VII., i. 224, 286, 287, 300, 332
—— in Italian caricature, i. xlvii
—— Napoleon's treatment of, ii. 53
Placenza, Duke of, i. 129 *note*
Plankovoi, near Moscow, ii. 181
Plautus, i. xviii
Plymouth, ii. 18
Poland, King of, Augustus the Strong, i. 308
Porta, Carlo, ii. 144
Portland, Duke of, i. 91, 115, 144, 213, 258, 268, 300
—— Administration, the, i. 307 *note*
Porto-Ferrajo, i. 354; ii. 57, 58
Portsmouth, i. 91
Potsdam, i. 237; ii. 242 *note*, 243 *note*
Potter, Francis, *Interpretation of the Number* 666, ii. 219
Prague, battle of, i. 23; ii. 218 *note*
—— the Congress at, i. 331, 337
Presburg, Treaty of, i. xli, 228, 341
Prideaux, S. T., *The Printing Art*, i. 61 and *note*, 65
Priestley, Dr., ii. 220
Prina, Count, i. xlviii; ii. 157, 158
Prince Imperial, his tomb at Farnborough, ii. 89
Prussia defies Napoleon, 1813, i. lvi
—— King of, i. 259, 308; ii. 183
—— Queen of, i. 259, 287
—— Queen of, in French caricature, i. xliii
Publiciste incurs Napoleon's displeasure, i. xxxvii
Pugin, Augustus Charles, i. 53, 61, 66
Pultusk, the victory of, i. 254
Punch, allusion to famous characters in, ii. 281

Punch, list of the illustrations of, and other allusions to, Napoleon, ii. 288–89 *note*
—— Napoleon on the staff of, i. xxxiv
Purcell, E., ii. 270 *note*
Puzzle-portraits, early example of, ii. 166
Puzzles, medium for caricature, i. 15
Pyne, William Henry, i. 66
Pyramids, battle of the, i. 120
Pyrenees, the, battles of, i. 268, 310

Q

Quatre Bras, battle of, i. 20
Queensberry, Duke of, i. 58

R

Raabe, ii. 135
Rabelais, on laughter, i. xvii, xviii
Rados, ii. 144
Ramberg, J. H., ii. 103
Rambouillet, i. 375
Rapinat, ii. 202
Rastadt, treaty of, i. 103, 105, 116 *note*; ii. 108, 208 and *note*, 210
Raymond, i. 48, 159
Rayneval, M. de, 312, 317
Reader, E. F. Stratton, ii. 235
Reed, E. T., *A Book of Arms*, ii. 241 *note*
Regent, Prince, i. 92, 391
—— attacks on, ii. 26
Régnier, Napoleon's letters to, i. xxxvii
—— Mathurin, ii. 232
Rehberg, Frederick, i. 367
Reichenbach, the crisis of, i. lxii
—— Treaty of, i. 330
Reichstadt, Duc de, ii. 60, 155, 269
Reid, S. W., *The Works of George Cruikshank*, i. xi *note*, i. 24
"Reign of a Hundred Days," The, ii. 58, 66, 255, 372, 374, 375
Renaissance, the, develops caricature, i. xx
Reutlinger, ii. 94
Reveredo, ii. 143
Rhine, the, i. lxiii, 222; ii. 113, 192
Riboldi, Italian caricaturist, ii. 160, 161
Richelieu, Cardinal, i. xxii
Richter, Jean Paul, i. 287
Rivoli, victory of, i. 98
Roberts, David, caricaturist, i 161, 175, 184, 186, 195, 196, 197 347
Robespierre, caricatures of, i. xxx ii. 233
Rochefort, i. 375
Roederer, i. xli
Rohr, i. 285
Roliça, i. 278
Rolle, ii. 208 *note*
Roman forms of satire, i. xix
Rome, i. 99; ii. 154, 159, 163
—— King of, i. 286, 302; ii. 57 60, 91, 94, 273
—— King of, song on the birth of, i. 17
Rosbach, battle of, i. 23
Rose, Dr. Holland, i. 124, 132, 148 234 *note*; ii. 102, 120 *note*
—— *A History of Malta*, &c., ii 150 *note*
—— *Life of Napoleon*, i. viii, xii 51 *note*, 83 and *note*, 84 and *note* 98 and *note*, 114, 128 *note*, 12 *note*, 138 *note*, 139 and *note*, 14 *note*, 154 and *note*, 213 *note*, 214 227 *note*, 228 and *note*, 234 *note* 238 *note*, 247 *note*, 257 and *note* 259 *note*, 266 and *note*, 278 *note* 286 *note*, 312 and *note*, 331 an *note*, 375 *note*; ii. 27 *note*, 4 *note*, 48, 51 *note*, 58, 96 *note* 102, 126 *note*, 205 *note*, 268
—— *Life of Pitt*, i. x
Rose, Rt. Hon. George, i. 307 *not*
Rosebery, Lord, *Napoleon, th Last Phase*, i. 75; ii. 288
Ross, General, i. 367 *note*
Rotterdam, ii. 189
—— municipal library at, i. xiii.
Rowlandson, Madame Thomas, i 32
—— Thomas, i. viii, xxiv, 29, 3 *note*, 32, 33, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 5 63, 66, 70, 72, 90, 94, 110, 11 120, 122, 162, 179, 215, 217, 22 225, 232, 234, 246, 269, 270, 27 273, 277, 278, 279, 281, 293, 29 298, 300, 302, 303, 310, 338, 34 341, 344, 346, 348, 349, 251, 35 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 361, 36 371, 378, 383, 387; ii. 3, 9, 2

note, 103, 104, 123, 143, 162, 164, 165, 186, 187, 189, 226, 244
Rowlandson, Thomas, biographers of, i. 24
—— birth of, i. 23, 30
—— Bryan's estimate of, i. 26
—— caricatures, Napoleon's trickery at Bayonne, i. 1
—— death of, i. 31
—— inherits from his French aunt, i. 31
Ruckman, Johan Gustaf, ii. 216, 255
Rudolstadt, ii. 103
Ruotte, M., French caricaturist, ii. 29, 36
Russia repels the French invasion, i. liii
Russian caricature, its rise in 1812, i. lii–liv
—— its stimulating influence on English artists, i. lv
Ryland, William Wynne, i. 36

S

Saal, ii. 211 *note*
Sacheverell, Dr., trial of, i. xxii
St. Bernard, i. 137
—— passage of the, i. 138
St. Cloud, i. 130, 168, 186, 212, 237, 250, 278, 326, 331 ; ii. 52
St. Gothard, i. 137
St. Helena, i. 42, 51, 284, 355, 389 ; ii. 15, 17 and *note*, 18, 22, 29, 44 *note*, 57, 58, 99, 161, 200, 230, 243 *note*, 277
—— in caricature, i. lx
—— plague of rats, ii. 8 *note*, 10, 138
St. Jean de Luz, i. 268
St. Marcou, or Marcouf, i. 112 *note*
St. Petersburg, i. 146, 310 ; ii. 203, 256
Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de, ii. 25
St. Vincent, Cape, i. 101
—— Lord, i. 144
Salamanca, i. 268, 280, 310
Saliceti, i. 81
Sambourne, Linley, ii. 287, 288
Sandby, Paul, i. 200
San Ildenfonso, Treaty of, i. xlix
Sardinia, allied with France, i. xxv
Sardou, Victorien, collection of, i. xii
"Satira," i. 301
Satire, pictorial conditions of, i. xviii
Satirist, The, i. 2, 298, 304, 305, 319, 322, 334, 337, 342, 348, 350, 259
Sauley, G., of Farnham, i. 48, 253, 256, 257, 278, 293 ; ii. 226
Saxony, i. lix, 295, 337
—— King of, i. 308
—— Queen of, i. 308
Sayer, James, i. 36 ; ii. 105
Schadow, Johann Gottfried, ii. 102, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 121, 125, 131, 132
—— adoption of pseudonyms, ii. 107
—— prudent sketches by, i. lviii
Scharnhorst, General, i. 330
Schill, Colonel, raid on Westphalia, i. lviii
Schiller, Friedrich, i. lvi
Schubart, Gallic tendencies of, i. lvi
Schuermans, Albert, *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon Ier*, i. xii, 83 *note*, 84 *note*, 105, 124 *note*, 125 *note*, 146 *note*, 154 *note*, 156, 168 and *note*, 311 *note*, 373 *note* ; ii. 20, 208 *note*
Schulze, Friedrich, *Die Franzosenheit in deutschen Landen*, i. vii ; ii. 101
Schwarzenberg, Field-Marshal, ii. 127 *note*
Scotland, Dr. Arbuthnot's sketch of, i. xxiii
Scott, Sir Walter, i. 77 ; ii. 142
—— *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, ii. 273
Scourge, The, i. 2, 280, 303, 305, 336, 360, 376, 381, 384 ; ii. 7, 9, 15
Sebastiani, Colonel, i. 164
—— Mission, the, i. 169
Sedan, ii. 286
Ségur, Comte de, i. 309
Seine, the, i. 199 ; ii. 274
Selwyn, George, his historic yoke, i. 74
Seurre, E., ii. 274 and *note*
Sewell, Mr., i. 9
Sharpe, Granville, i. 77

Sheridan, R. B., i. 77, 88, 90, 91, 92, 104, 160, 218
—— in caricature, i. xxvii
Shipley, William, i. 62
Siéyès, Abbé, i. 129, 130, 133
Silesia, i. lix; ii. 127 *note*, 135 *note*
Simons, ii. 189
Simplon, the, i. xlvii
Smies, ii. 189
Smith, John, i. 48
Smolensk, i. 311, 312
Smorgoni, i. liv, 312
Söderberg, N., ii. 216, 255
Soleure, i. 116 *note*; ii. 208 *note*
Somerset, ii. 152
Somerset House, i. 48
—— exhibition in, i. 45
Sophocles, i. xxi
Soulavie Collection, The, ii. 33 *note*
Soult, Marshal, i. 228, 268
Southey, Robert, i. xxvi, 94, 353
—— appointed Poet Laureate, i. 13
South Sea Bubble, ridicule of, ii. 185
Spanish caricature, i. xlix–lii
—— originates in the works of English artists, ii. 164
—— translated from the English, i. l
Spencer, Earl, i. 91, 239
Spenser, Edmund, i. 363
Spielmann, M. H., ii. 288 *note*
Splügen, passage of the, i. 138
Stadion, Count, i. 287
Stadler, i. 66
Staffordshire mug in Brighton Museum, ii. 222 *note*
—— ware, ii. 258, 259
Stanhope, Charles, 3rd Earl Stanhope, i. 91, 93
Starhemberg, Count, i. 158
Starke, the Prussian artist, i. 150
Steevens, George, i. 77
Steffens, Heinrich, ii. 110
Stein, Baron, i. 329; ii. 100, 102, 110, 170
Stephen, Sir Leslie, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, i. 73 *note*
Stewart, Major, ii. 20, 21
Stockholm, ii. 256
—— Royal Library, i. xiii; ii. 216, 217, 255
Stockholm, treaty of, i. 330, 337
Stocks, Miss, i. 20
Stolk, Lieut.-Col. van, collection of, i. xiii
Stralsund, i. 330; ii. 211 *note*
Strange, Sir Robert, ii. 29
Struensee, John Frederick, i. 57
Stuart, General, i. 249
Suffolk, ii. 152
Sutherland, i. 66
Suwarrow, General, i. 129 *note*; ii. 149
—— victory of, ii. 148
Swabia, Napoleon in, i. lvii
Swift, *Battle of the Books*, i. 51
Swiss caricatures, their appearance at an early date, ii. 201

T

Talavera, i. 268, 288, 310; ii. 220
Talleyrand, i. 97, 129, 151, 152, 154, 174, 237, 275 *note*, 294, 295, 303; ii. 65, 95, 96, 117 *note*, 234, 239, 277
—— Louis Philippe's present to, ii. 272
—— prediction of, ii. 169
—— his spoils in the Rhineland, i. lvii
Talma, François Joseph, i. 82
—— plays at Dresden, ii. 50
Tangena, ii. 185
Tardieu, John Charles, ii. 29, 344 *note*
Taschenbuch, or Illustrated Annual, i. 65
Tassaert, ii. 29, 275
Tate, Colonel, i. 29, 100, 101
Tathwell Church, i. 339 *note*
Tauroggen, the Convention of, i. 329
Taw, S. T., i. 48
Tchaikowsky, *Symphony* 1812, i. lii
Tell, William, ii. 202
Tenniel, Sir John, ii. 269
Tennyson, Alfred, i. 374, 386
Terebenef, Ivan, ii. 171, 174, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 191
—— vigour of, i. liv, lv
Tettenborn, Colonel, i. 330
Texel Island, ii. 209 *note*
Thackeray, W. M., *The Second Funeral of Napoleon*, ii. 281 *note*
Thames, the, i. 113; ii. 3 *note*

Theatre, Napoleon's use of the, i. ix
Thelwall, John, i. 63
Themistocles, i. 391
Thibaudeau, on *L'Invisible*, i. xxxvi
Thiodon, M., i. 21
Thorpe Hall, i. 339 *note*
Thumb, General Tom, i. 21, 283 *note*
Tiddy-Doll, a celebrated vendor of gingerbread, i. 162, 240 *note*, 257 *note*
Tierney, George, i. 90, 92
Tilsit, i. 238, 258, 259, 310; ii. 48
—— Peace of, i. lv
—— Treaty of, i. xlii, 259, 263
Tolentino, treaty of, i. 99; ii. 205 *note*
Tolstoi, Leo, *Power and Liberty*, i. liv *note*
Tooke, John Horne, i. 92
Torbay, Napoleon at, i. 20
Toulon, i. 80, 81, 112, 113 *note*, 116, 120; ii. 203
Toulouse, i. 268
Toys, a medium for caricature, i. 3
Trachenberg, i. 330
Trafalgar, battle of, i. xlix, 56, 58, 81, 170, 228, 232, 236; ii. 278
—— first fruits of the battle of, i. xlii
—— news of, suppressed in France, i. xl
Traviès, Charles Joseph, ii. 30 *note*
Trebia, defeat of the French at, ii. 149
Tresham, Henry, i. 167, 168, 170
—— *Britannicus to Buonaparte*, ii. 223 *note*
Trianon Tariff, the, i. 286
Trim, i. 81
Trinidad, capture of, ii. 206 *note*
—— ceded to England, i. xlix
Truman Collection, the, i. 42; ii. 6
—— sale, the, ii. 21
Tugendbund, the, i. lviii

U

Ulm, i. xl, xliii, lvii, 228, 232, 233; ii. 43, 109
Upsala, Royal Library at, ii. 216
—— University of, i. xiii

V

Valderas, i. 267
Valence, i. 354; ii. 55 *note*
Valladolid, i. 268
Vallardi, Antonio, ii. 152 *note*
Van de Paz, C., ii. 185
Van de Velde, Willem, burial-place of, i. 38
Van Rijn, G., i. xiii; ii. 187
—— *Atlas Van Stolk*, i. 3 *note*; ii. 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 196, 253
—— collection of satirical prints, ii. 189
Van Schoor, M., i. xlii *note*
Van Stolk, A., collection of engravings, ii. 189
Van Woenzel, Peter, ii. 187, 188, 189
Venice, ii. 143, 146, 148, 157, 204, 205 *note*, 209 *note*
—— ceded to Austria, i. xlvi
Vernet, Antoine Charles Horace, ii. 29
—— Émile Jean Horace, i. 20; ii. 29
Vicaire, G., *Manuel de l'Amateur des Livres du XIX Siècle*, ii. 32 *note*
Vicenza, Duc de, i. 312, 317 *note*; ii. 126
Victor, Marshal, i. 268
Victoria, Queen, i. 58, 59, 60; ii. 283
—— letters of, ii. 278
Vien, Joseph Marie, ii. 211 *note*
Vienna, i. xl, 228, 286, 300, 369
—— caricature shops in, ii. 106
—— Congress at, ii. 58, 67
Villeneuve, Admiral, i. 228, 231
Vimeira, i. 278, 296, 305
—— battle of, i. 268
Violet, use made of this flower in caricature, ii. 88–95
Vittoria, i. xlvii, 326, 330; ii. 50, 268, 281, 284
—— battle of, water-colour sketch of, i. 32 *note*
Volney, Count, i. 123
Voltaire, i. 285
Voltz, Johann Michael, ii. 102, 107 and *note*, 113, 122, 137, 141, 190, 192, 195, 243, 244, 257

Voltz, Johann Michael, corpse caricature by, i. lix
—— prudent sketches by, i. lviii

W

Wachsmann, ii. 135
Wagram, battle of, i. lviii, 286; ii. 220
Walcheren Expedition, the, i. 288, 299
—— island of, i. 168
Wales, Prince of, i. 218
Walmer, i. 223
—— room occupied by Duke of Wellington, ii. 18
Walpole, George, i. 150 *note*
Walton, Elijah, i. 66
Warsaw, i. 238, 255
—— Decree, the, i. 261
Wartmann, Dr. J. W., ii. 212
Washington, George, i. 115, 132, 328, 367 *note*
Waterloo, i. 38, 43 *note*, 47, 53, 64, 71, 81, 181, 246, 283, 375, 384, 386, 388, 391; ii. 36, 77, 81, 89, 91, 94, 100, 145
—— battle of, in German caricature, i. lx
—— motto of the Imperial Guard at, i. lxvi
—— sees the end of the pro-Napoleonic caricatures, ii. 72
Watson, G. L. de St. M., ii. 149
—— Richard, D.D., *Address to the People of England*, i. 110 *note*
Weber, F., ii. 107 *note*
Weimar, ii. 102, 103
—— Duke of, i. 296
Wellesley, Marquess, i. 268
—— Sir Arthur, i. 278, 280 *note*, 296, 298
Wellington, Duke of, i. 21, 58, 61, 81, 267, 268, 280, 284, 288, 310, 326, 367, 384; ii. 36, 75 *note*, 189, 258, 285
—— attacks on, ii. 26
—— at Walmer, ii. 18
—— caricatures of, i. x
Welschinger, H., *La Censure sous le Premier Empire*, i. xlii *note*
Wesley, John, ii. 219
Westall, William, i. 66
Weston, Edward, i. lxi *note*
Westphalia, Austrian raid on, i. lviii
West, Admiral Temple, i. 48
West, Temple, i. 46, 161, 178, 182, 189, 194, 208, 211, 364; ii. 103 *note*
Weymouth, i. 148
Whitbread, Samuel, i. xxvii, 133 and *note*
Whitefield, George, ii. 219
Whitelocke, General, i. 249
Whitworth, Lord, i. 160, 169, 171
Wickham, Mr. (English minister), ii. 208 *note*
Wilberforce, William, i. 77, 148 *note*
Willett, Henry, his collection of pottery and porcelain in the Brighton Museum, ii. 262–67
William, Prince of Orange, ii. 187
William III., unpopularity of, i. xxii
Williamson, G. C., i. 25 *note*
Willis, Francis, M.D., i. 141 *note*
Wilna, i. 311
Wilson, Sir Robert, i. lv
Wimereux, i. 209
Windham, William, i. 238
Windsor, i. 148
Wolcot, his assault on Gifford, i. 73
Woodthorpe, caricaturist, i. 185
Woodward, George Murgatroyd, i. 9, 44, 53, 66, 70, 72, 90, 94, 157, 161, 163, 165, 180, 188, 195, 197, 202, 210, 211, 227, 229, 231, 235, 246, 255, 262, 271, 273, 279, 289, 290, 292, 294, 297, 309; ii. 186
—— his attitude to the French Revolution, i. xxvi, xxvii
—— birth of, i. 23
—— Bryan's account of, i. 27
—— caricatures the blockade of commerce, i. xlii
—— *Eccentric Excursions*, i. 72
—— original drawings, i. 44 *note*
—— William, i. 44
Worcester, i. 13; ii. 258
Wordsworth, William, i. 94, 143, 167, 199, 237, 327; ii. 201
Wright, Thomas, i. 34, 200; ii. 233
—— *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, i. xi *note*, 34, 95 and *note*, 109 *note*, 118, 123, 126 *note*, 148 and *note*, 239 *note*, 239 *note*, 247 *note*

Wright, Thomas, his life of Gillray, i. 24
—— on Isaac Cruikshank, i. 28
Würtemberg, ii. 94
—— Elector Frederick of, i. 235; ii. 94
—— King of, i. 340

X

Xerxes, i. lxi

Y

Yarmouth, enthusiastic rejoicings at, i. 358
Yarmouth. Lord, i. 247
Yorck, General, i. 329
York, Duke of, i. 21, 89, 130
—— attacks on, ii. 26
—— French caricatures of, i. ix
—— peccadilloes of, ii. 203

Z

Zinzendorf, Count, i. 33
Zurich, i. 116 *note*; ii. 203, 211, 212
—— Society of Fine Arts at, ii. 213

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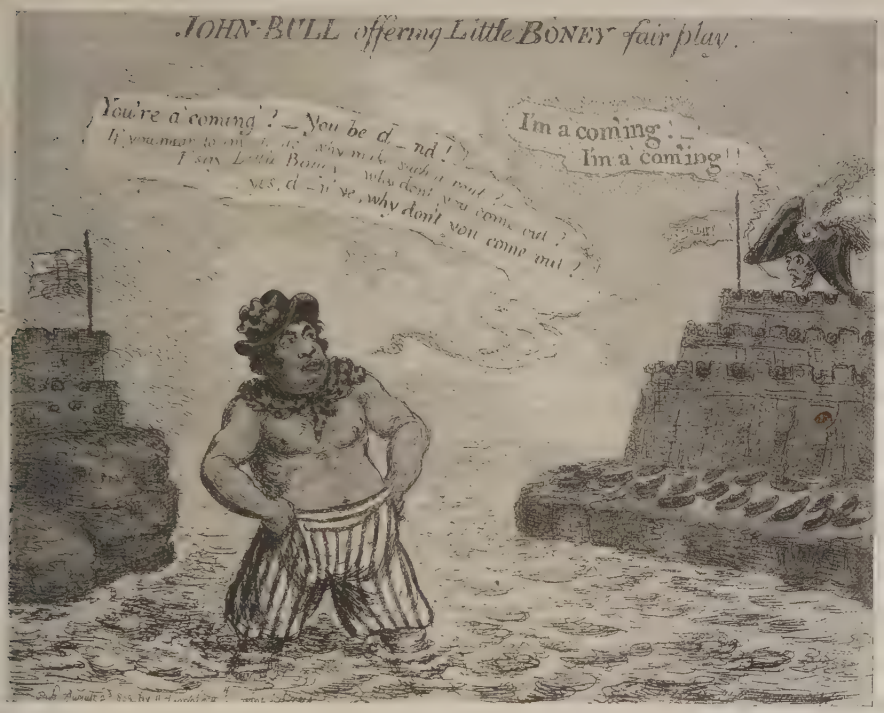

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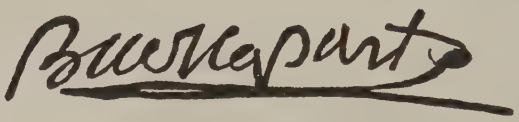

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